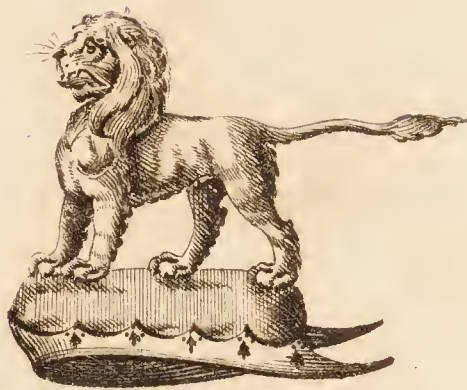






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*Hugh Percy*













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## T R A V E L S

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THE revolution of 1741 placed Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, on the throne

of Russia. In the following year the empress nominated Charles Peter Ulric, son of Charles Frederic duke of Holstein Gottorp, by Anne, her sister, successor to the crown. Having embraced the Greek religion, he was appointed great-duke of Russia, with the accustomed formalities, and assumed the name of Peter Feodorovitch. In 1745 he espoused Sophia Augusta, daughter of Christian Augustus, prince of Anhalt Zerbst, who, being re-baptized according to the rites of the Greek church, was called Catharine Alexiefna. She was born\* in 1729, and was sixteen years of age at the time of her marriage. Their only issue were the great-duke Paul, born 1754; and Anne, who was born in 1757, and died in 1761.

During the first years of their marriage the most perfect union subsisted between them, which was at length succeeded by mutual aversion and disgust. Peter, whose mind was warped by a bad education, and who was purposely estranged from political affairs, was held by Elizabeth in

\* Catharine was born at Stettin, where her father, who was in the Prussian service, resided as governor, and was educated with great attention under the care of her mother, who was daughter of Christian Augustus, prince bishop of Lubeck. A lady who knew her before her marriage, described her to me as extremely beautiful, accomplished, and amiable, and added, that she expressed great repugnance to go into Russia; she even burst into tears, and declared that she would rather marry a count in Germany than the great-duke.



a state of dependence: a prey to idleness, and without the power of amusing himself with rational occupations of literature, he devoted himself to the most trifling pursuits, or to the lowest gratifications. He was perpetually beset with spies, who made unfavourable reports of his conduct to the empress, ever suspicious of his intentions, and constantly alarmed with the dread of a revolution similar to that which had placed her upon the throne \*. At Petersburg he had apartments in the imperial palace, and lived more in the style of a state prisoner, than of a successor to the crown. When the empress removed to Peterhof, he resided at his favourite palace of Oranienbaum; where he amused himself in training his servants to military exercises. The empress, considering this employment as likely to draw his attention from political intrigues, ordered a corps of soldiers to be draughted from several regiments,

\* The horrors of mind which Elizabeth suffered from apprehensions of this kind are scarcely to be credited. Had I not received the following anecdote from the best authority I should not insert it. Besides constant watches and guards about her apartment, a person, who was originally a taylor, and in whom she reposed the most perfect confidence, usually remained at the foot of her bed while she was asleep. He occupied this extraordinary post two-and-twenty years, and at her death was gratified with a pension.



and to be quartered at Oranienbaum under his command.

Peter, ardent in pursuit of his new occupation, formed in the garden a fortress in miniature, a few feet square, from which he studied practical fortification. Pleased with this first essay, he caused a larger and more regular fortress to be constructed near the palace: within was a brick building, called the governor's house, wooden habitations for the principal officers, and barracks capable of containing 1500 foldiers. Every thing wore a martial appearance\*: the hours of morning and evening parade were marked by the firing of cannon, a regular guard was stationed, the troops were dressed in the German uniform, and taught, under

\* It is singular to observe the conformity in the manners, figure, and pursuits of the emperor Peter and his son Paul. The lively portrait which Rulhiere drew of Peter, equally resembled Paul. "Une forte de manie militaire se repandait sur toute sa vie; sa figure naturellement ridicule, le devenait beaucoup plus sous un habillement où il avait outré la manière prussienne. Les guêtres qu'il portait toujours étoient si serrées qu'elles lui ôtaient le mouvement des genoux, et l'obligeaient à s'asseoir et à marcher tout d'une piece. Un vaste chapeau bizarrement retroussé, couvrant un petit visage laid et malin, d'une physionomie assez vive; il se plaisait à se défigurer encore par de perpetuelles grimaces, dont il s'étoit fait un amusement. Son esprit n'étoit cependant sans quelque vivacité, et on reconnaissait en lui un talent assez marqué pour la bouffonnerie." Rulhiere *Anecdotes sur la Revolution de Russie*, p. 18, 19.

his

his direction, the Prussian exercise. This house in the fortrefs was the principal scene of his convivial entertainments; there, when not employed in exercising his troops, or issuing military orders, he passed his time in drinking and smoking with the officers, and generally pushed the pleasures of the table to an excess of intoxication.

Impatient of constraint, he occasionally broke into open and bitter invectives against the empress; he often declared that he was called into Russia to be confined like a state prisoner, frequently expressed a desire to return into Holstein, and founded his only hopes of comfort on the death of Elizabeth. These expressions, always carried to the empress, and either wantonly exaggerated, or malignantly interpreted, made such an impression on that princess, that she was nearly induced, by the chancellor Bestuchef, to exclude him from the succession, and declare Paul her heir, and Catharine regent, in case of a minority. Bestuchef represented to the empress, that Peter had proved himself unworthy of the crown, by openly expressing contempt for the Russians, and placing his whole confidence in foreigners; that he was guilty of the basest ingratitude to her, and that she would confer a signal service on her subjects, by excluding a person so disqualified for directing the reins of  
B 3      empire.



empire. Elizabeth, won by these arguments, and alarmed with the apprehensions of a conspiracy said to be forming against her person, almost consented to the proposal; but, on deliberate reflection, persevered in her former appointment of Peter, and Bestuchef\* was disgraced.

Such

\* Of all the principal nobles disgraced by Elizabeth, Bestuchef alone was not recalled to court by Peter; a strong proof of his intrigues against that prince, who, with all his weakness, was of a temper exceedingly humane and forgiving. He was recalled at the accession of Catharine.

It appears from some of Mr. Keith's dispatches to Lord Holderness, that Bestuchef was disgraced by the intrigues of the French party, and that he was suspected of caballing in favour of the great-duchess. Two extracts from these dispatches will serve to shew her melancholy situation, and the prevalence of these suspicions.

"The poor grand-duchess is still in distress; but it is thought a reconciliation, an apparent one at least, will soon be brought about between the empress and her; and as a forerunner of it, count Peter Schuwallow assured her the other day, from her Majesty, that nothing severe should happen to any of the prisoners. I believe this is true, as I know, by another channel, that the empress does not intend to confiscate the chancellor's estate, and it is even said, that her majesty is uneasy about what has already happened to him, as nothing of consequence has yet appeared against him.

"Count Poniatowski is involved in the late intrigues, and it is thought he will not remain long at this court.

"Peterburgh, March 19/30, 1758. Private and Secret."

"As to the great-duchess, she has been all along in great distress: ill with the empress, and still worse with the grand-duke, she received the other day a very sensible mortification; one of her favourite bed-chamber women having been taken from her, and put



Such was the situation of the court, when Elizabeth died on the 25th of December 1761.

Peter assumed the reigns of government, with all the joy of a person enlarged from a long confinement; he released the principal state prisoners, particularly Biron, duke of Courland, mar-

under arrest. This, as I hear, occasioned an interview between the empress and the duchess about four days ago, in which, after some sharp reproofs on one side, and warm expostulations on the other, her Imperial highness fell at the empress's feet, and told her that since she had been so unfortunate as to incur her majesty's displeasure, though innocently, and had thereby drawn upon herself so many, and such sensible mortifications, as, joined to family quarrels, made her life a burthen to her, she had but one favour to ask her, namely, that her majesty would allow her to retire out of Russia, and to pass the rest of her time with her mother, assuring the empress, at the same time, that if her majesty should think it for the interest of her empire, that the great-duke should take another wife, neither she nor any of her family would make the smallest objection to it. The empress, they say, was greatly affected with this discourse, and talked with much more softness than before to the grand-duchess, entering into several particulars with a greater air of kindness than she had done for a long while past: and when in the conversation her Imperial highness was beginning to touch upon some things relating to the grand-duke's unkindness, (who was present all the while) the empress made her a sign to hold her tongue, and in a low voice told her, that she must have another conversation with her alone, and that it should be very soon. It was thought Wednesday last was the day appointed for it, as her majesty, whose heart is at bottom both good and tender, was to take the sacrament the next day. It is hoped a reconciliation may have been the consequence of that meeting; and certainly the generality of people wish it very sincerely, the great-duchess having many friends amongst those of the first rank.

“ St. Petersburg, April 7/28, 1758. Secret.”

shal Munich \*, and Lestof †, and in all state affairs conducted himself on political principles diametrically opposite to those of the late empress.

Elizabeth, at the time of her decease, was, in conjunction with the courts of Vienna and Paris, engaged in a war with the king of Prussia, which promised a speedy and glorious termination. The resources of Frederick were nearly exhausted; and, notwithstanding his vigorous and successful opposition, he seemed on the point of being overwhelmed by the number and perseverance of his enemies. But Peter no sooner ascended the throne, than, sacrificing every other consideration to his extravagant enthusiasm for the character of the Prussian monarch, he dispatched an envoy to Berlin, to propose an immediate reconciliation, to which Frederick acceded, and a suspension of hostilities was soon concluded. Peter recalled his troops from the Austrian army, and in a short interval sent a reinforcement of 20,000 men to his favourite hero. Thus, within the space only of a few months,

\* For an account of Biron, see book v. c. ix. and of marshal Munich the next chapter.

† Lestof was a surgeon; by birth a German: he was a partisan of Elizabeth, and assisted her in planning the revolution of 1742. But that ungrateful princess forgot this favour; and, because Lestof became haughty and impertinent, banished and detained him in prison until she died.



Russian forces joined the Prussian army, in order to drive from Silesia those very Austrians who had been brought into that province by the Russian arms.

Having gratified his inclination without consulting his allies, or the honour of his empire, he aimed at recovering his paternal inheritance, the duchy of Sleswick; and did not hesitate to involve his subjects in an expensive war with Denmark, on account of claims considered by many as ill-founded and chimerical. Peter, as duke of Holstein, formed pretensions to that duchy, although ceded by a treaty in 1732: and at the conclusion of the peace with the king of Prussia, ordered an army to march into Holstein, which he purposed to command in person.

With respect to the interior administration of affairs, the emperor turned his attention to reform his kingdom; and envy must allow, that, notwithstanding his precipitancy and imprudence, Russia dates several useful alterations from his short reign. Peter annulled the secret council or inquisition \* of state; abolished many oppressive

\* This state-inquisition was invented by Alexèy Michaelovitch: it consisted of a secret committee of confidential persons, appointed to judge criminals suspected of high treason. Persons of all ranks and sexes were liable to be arrested upon the slightest suspicions, and tortured in the most dreadful manner. There was a catch-



pressive prerogatives, formed a plan for correcting the abuses in the courts of judicature, and for introducing a less corrupt system of jurisprudence. He freed the nobles from their obligation of serving in the army, and permitted them to travel into foreign countries, which before depended on the arbitrary will of the sovereign.

During the first six weeks of his reign, Peter proposed so many beneficial regulations, and made so many judicious reflections, that those who had formed a mean idea of his capacity, conceived themselves mistaken; and imagined, that, during the reign of Elizabeth, he had, from motives of policy, affected a deficiency of understanding. His subsequent conduct, however, fully proved, that he was still the same weak and imprudent prince; that he could only adopt the schemes suggested by others, but did not possess abilities sufficient to carry them into execution; that he had all the rage of reformation, without the judgment necessary to a reformer. These salutary regulations were accompanied with others that were trifling, some that were detrimental, and several, which, although in themselves useful, yet being contrary to the customs and genius

a catch-word—*Slovo i delo*, “Words and deeds;” which, if any one only pronounced against another, was sufficient cause for his being immediately apprehended, and sent to the secret committee.

of

of his people, were imprudently proposed in the commencement of his reign.

He irritated the clergy by secularizing the estates of the monasteries, and assigning pensions far inferior in value to incomes of the ecclesiastics before this alteration; by forbidding the admission of novices into convents before the age of thirty, and by ordering many painted images of saints to be removed from the churches. He banished the archbishop of Novogorod, for refusing to consent to these ordinances; but finding this act of arbitrary power attended with general discontent, he was obliged to recall him. Being himself educated in the Lutheran church, he had embraced the Greek religion, with a view of succeeding to the throne; but he was no sooner in possession, than he imprudently displayed his contempt of many rites and ceremonies, regarded by his subjects with profound reverence. He built a Lutheran chapel in the fortress of Oranienbaum, was present at the dedication, and distributed with his own hand books of hymns to the German soldiers. This circumstance might have passed unnoticed, had he not been absent at the consecration of a Russian church in the same place.

He offended the army by his preference of the Holstein troops, by introducing the Prussian discipline, and appointing new uniforms to several regiments.



regiments. He particularly gave umbrage to the guards, accustomed to reside in the capital, by ordering two regiments to march into Pomerania, where the army against Denmark was assembled.

He affronted the nobility by appointing his uncle prince George of Holstein generalissimo of the forces, and by the superior confidence which he placed in foreigners. He inflamed the general odium by the public contempt he expressed for the Russian nation, for their religion and manners. He raised great discontents, as well by engaging in the war with Denmark, a war which seemed totally unconnected with the interests of the empire; as by his boundless admiration of the great Frederick, with whom Russia had been so lately and so long in a state of hostility. During the life of Elizabeth, he expressed his concern to one of the foreign ministers, that the empress had invited him to Russia: "If," added he, "I had remained duke of Holstein, I should now have commanded a regiment in the Prussian service, and have the honour of serving personally so great a monarch; an honour which I esteem far superior to that of being great-duke." After his accession, he used publicly to call him *master*. Talking with one of his favourites upon this topic, he said, "You know I have been a faithful servant to my *master*;  
for



for you remember that I transmitted to him intelligence of all the secrets of the cabinet." And as the person, to whom this discourse was addressed, hesitated making a reply; "What are you afraid of?" returned the emperor, "the old woman is not now alive, and cannot send you into Siberia." He generally wore a Prussian uniform; expressed the utmost satisfaction at the formality of being appointed an officer in the king's service; and when he sent his minister to Berlin to negotiate a mutual alliance, gave him secret instructions to be careful that no person should be promoted above him in the Prussian army. On receiving the patent which conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-general in that service, he dressed himself in his new uniform, ordered a general discharge of the cannon in the fortress of Oranienbaum, gave a magnificent entertainment in honour of his promotion, and drank his *master's* health until he became quite intoxicated\*.

During his short reign he maintained a constant correspondence with the king of Prussia,

\* Lord Buckinghamshire, in a private letter to lord Hardwicke, thus accounts for the predilection of Peter in favour of the king of Prussia: "Peter III. was, in his youth, at the court of Prussia, and being greatly struck with the military discipline, the impression it made on him was so strong, that he thought any deviation from it inexcusable, and a little before his misfortunes, he remonstrated in a letter to his majesty, against some alterations he had lately made in the uniform."

and

and always received from him the most salutary advice. That able monarch earnestly dissuaded him from the Danish war; but finding him obstinately determined, advised him to be first crowned at Moscow with the usual solemnities, and, when he marched to Holstein, to carry in his train all the foreign ministers, and such of the Russian nobles as were suspected of disaffection. Frederick also cautioned him against alienating the lands of the monasteries, and interfering with the dress of the clergy, and particularly recommended a due attention to his consort. Indeed, the king, whose penetration is equal to his valour, foresaw the consequences which were likely to result from the emperor's imprudent conduct, and ordered his ambassador at Petersburg to show every mark of respect to the empress.

Had the advice of the king of Prussia been adopted, Peter might have avoided his unhappy destiny; but it was the character of that misguided prince to pursue with unremitted obstinacy what he had once resolved. Though his plans of reformation were, in many respects, highly salutary; yet the precipitancy with which he endeavoured to carry them into execution, and his impolitic defiance of popular prejudices, destroyed the affection of his subjects, fomented the intrigues of the opposite party, and terminated in his dethronement.

In



In no light did the inconsistency of his character manifest itself more strongly, than in his behaviour to his consort. During the reign of Elizabeth, Catharine employed her hours of leisure in a course of assiduous study, and particularly applied herself to those authors who were most eminent for political knowledge: born with superior abilities, she improved them by a constant habit of reflection, and paid an unremitting attention to the cultivation of her mind. Her mild and insinuating manners, her engaging address, the graces of her person, her unwearied assiduities, and a perpetual fund of interesting conversation, conciliated the favour of the suspicious Elizabeth, who treated her with complacency and affection. Even her husband, though his general behaviour to her was contemptuous and unmannerly, occasionally testified great respect for her superior abilities, and usually demanded her advice in every important emergency. Whenever any misunderstanding arose between him and Elizabeth, Catharine was employed as mediatrix; and Peter not unfrequently owed a favourable reception at court to her influence. After his accession, though he gave public marks of deep-rooted aversion; yet he would often behave to her with deference. By an unaccountable act of imprudence, he, in a full court, invested her with the exterior



exterior decorations of sovereignty; while, in the character of colonel, he presented to her the officers of his regiment. At the Blessing of the waters, when the Russian monarch appears in all the pomp of majesty, the ceremony was left to the empress, and he mounted guard as colonel, and saluted her with his pike. Under all these circumstances, the dignity of her department was so striking, that it was impossible not to contrast her behaviour with the trifling levity of her husband's conduct; and to give the preference where it was so evidently due. Thus this infatuated prince, at the very time he was fully determined to divorce and imprison his wife, imprudently displayed to his subjects her capacity for empire; and, while he proclaimed her forfeiture of his own esteem, adopted every method to secure to her that of the whole nation. Meanwhile the breach was continually widened: he occasionally behaved to her with the most brutal contumely; and once, in particular, at an entertainment he gave in honour of the king of Prussia, he publicly affronted her to such a degree, that she burst into tears, and retired from table. Thus his insults, no less than his deference, equally attracted odium to himself, and popularity to Catharine.

It is also a well-known fact, that he more than once avowed an intention of arresting both her  
and

and the great-duke, whom he proposed to exclude from the succession, and of marrying Elizabeth countess of Voronzof, his favourite mistress. Information of this alarming measure was immediately conveyed to Catharine, through the imprudence of the countess. By the same, or other means, as well as by the indiscretion of Peter himself, the empress obtained early intelligence of every resolution formed against her person. She was thus enabled to seize the decisive moment of enterprize, and secure her safety by preventing the designs of her husband.

Indeed her danger became every day more and more imminent, and the moment of her arrest seemed at hand. A brick house, consisting of eleven rooms, had, by the emperor's order, been constructed in the fortrefs of Schlusfelburgh \*, for a person of very considerable consequence, and with such expedition as to be almost finished within six weeks. Peter went himself to Schlusfelburgh with a view to examine it; and no great depth of penetration was requisite to perceive that it was built for the empress. In this important crisis a meeting of her party was held at Petersburg. This party was extremely small, and, excepting the princess Dashkof, and her particular adherents, consisted

\* See the description of this building in Book IV. Chap. 7.



only of a few among the principal nobility. The most conspicuous of these were prince Volkonski, count Panin, governor of the great-duke, and count Razamofski, Hetman of the Ukraine. In the first consultations for dethroning Peter, it was proposed, according to the plan of chancellor Bestuchef, to declare the great-duke emperor, and Catharine regent during his minority; and this would have been the measure naturally followed in any country, wherein the order of succession was more fixed than in Russia. Only a few days before the revolution, the inconvenience attending a minority, joined to the popularity and abilities of the empress, induced her party to adopt the resolution of placing her upon the throne. At these meetings various plans of an insurrection were proposed; but it was at length unanimously agreed to delay their attempt until Peter's departure for Holstein.

Although only a few persons were engaged in this momentous enterprize; yet the designs of the party could not be concealed from the friends of the emperor, who earnestly intreated him to investigate the foundation of the report. But Peter, who had committed the care of the empress's person to those in whom he placed the highest confidence, could never be prevailed upon to give the slightest credit to the rumour; and indeed he was so convinced of its falsehood, that



that any suggestions on that head always offended him. One of his confidants presented him a memorial in writing, in which the names of several conspirators were mentioned. "What, always the old story!" said the emperor; "here, take back your paper; and do not trouble me any more with such idle tales." His uncle, prince George of Holstein, was frequently heard to say, that he was tired with tendering remonstrances, and that the emperor was insensible to the danger of his situation. On the very morning of the revolution, about two o'clock, an officer, who had a great share in Peter's confidence, arrived at Oranienbaum, and demanded to speak with him on an affair of the greatest importance. Being, after some difficulty, admitted, he acquainted the emperor with several circumstances, which seemed to indicate a conspiracy on the point of breaking out. But the infatuated prince, far from paying the least attention to the intelligence, ordered the officer under immediate arrest, for presuming to disturb him at so late an hour. And yet at this very hour his dethronement was determined, which event was accelerated by a circumstance perfectly unconnected with the intentions of the opposite party.

The arrest of one of the empress's adherents, a lieutenant in the guards, whose name was Passer, greatly alarmed her friends, as they concluded

that the emperor had penetrated their design; and although they soon discovered that it had been occasioned by some irregularity of which he had been guilty as an officer; yet their consternation hastened the execution of the enterprise. Every moment was big with danger; and a discovery seemed inevitable if the insurrection was delayed until the emperor's departure for Holstein.

The empress, however, who continued at Peterhof, shuddered at the advice to precipitate the hour of action: her resolution at this awful crisis, when immediate decision was necessary, seemed for a moment to fail, and she hesitated to assent; but her party at Peterburgh, convinced that the least delay would prove fatal, dispatched, on the evening of the 27th of June, an empty carriage to Peterhof, the appointed signal for her approach to the capital. Catharine, whose greatness of mind soon returned to support her in this dreadful state of suspense, instantly escaped from her apartment; and, at three o'clock in the morning, having traversed the garden to the place where the carriage \* was waiting for her,

\* This carriage was conducted by one of the empress's most confidential adherents, I believe by count Alexèy Orlof; but as I found it impracticable positively to ascertain the person, I was unwilling to advance any fact, of which I was not as perfectly convinced



her, was conveyed with all speed to Peterburgh. It was preconcerted that count Panin should attend to the safety of the great-duke's person; that Gregory Orlof should remain in the capital to win over some of the guards; and that count Razomofski should prepare his regiment for the reception of the empress. In consequence of this determination, Catharine repaired to the quarters of the Ismailofski guards. The hour was so early that Razomofski, the colonel, was not yet arrived, a circumstance sufficient to have disconcerted a person of less spirit; but the empress, having dispatched a messenger to him, summoned the officers and soldiers. A few who had been apprized by Orlof were ready; while the greater part, being roused unexpectedly from their slumber, made their appearance scarcely half dressed.

The empress laid before them the bad conduct of the emperor, his avowed contempt of the Russians, his aversion to their customs, and his attachment to foreigners. She exposed the dangers which awaited herself, her son, and the principal nobility; she expatiated upon the probable subversion of their religion and government, and exhorted all those to follow her, who were desi-

vinced as the intricate nature of these affairs would admit. I have reason to believe that he was assisted by prince Baratinski, who remained with the carriage, while he repaired to the empress's apartment.



rous of saving their country, and rescuing her and the great-duke from destruction. Her speech, occasionally interrupted with sighs and tears, was short and pathetic, and, further enforced by the graces of her person, made an instantaneous impression. The greater part of the soldiers answered her with loud acclamations; a few officers, indeed, at first seemed to hesitate; but the arrival of Razomofski quieted their apprehensions, and the whole regiment offered to sacrifice their lives in her cause. Catharine then proceeded to the church of the Virgin Mary of Casan, and was joined by other bodies of guards, and by many of the principal nobility. Service being performed by the archbishop of Novogorod, the empress took the accustomed oath, after which the nobles and people flocked in crowds to swear allegiance to the new sovereign. At the conclusion of this ceremony she repaired to the senate, the members of which body acknowledged her sole empress. A report, industriously circulated, that Peter was killed by a fall from his horse, proved favourable to the success of the revolution. The suite of the empress continually augmented. Two regiments of guards, who had scarcely quitted Petersburg to join the army in Pomerania, were immediately recalled, and repaired without delay to the standard of the empress.

Even

Even in those governments where the pretorian bands, stationed in the capital, depose sovereigns, or raise them to the throne, some plausible pretence must be urged to render a revolution popular, and engage the general voice to ratify the deed of the soldiery. When Elizabeth seized the reins of empire, the attachment of the nation to the memory of her father induced the public to applaud that transaction; and in this instance Peter had, by some parts of his conduct, rendered himself so odious, and, by others, so contemptible to his subjects, that the first account of his dethronement, and of Catharine's accession, announced in the manifesto, was received with universal joy.

“ Catharine II. by the grace of God empress and autocratix of All the Russias, to all our faithful subjects, &c.

“ All the true sons of Russia have clearly seen the danger which threatened the whole Russian empire. First, the foundation of our orthodox Greek religion has been shaken, and its tradition exposed to total ruin, so that it was to be feared that the faith, which has been established in Russia from the earliest times, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced. In the second place, the glory which Russia had acquired at the expence of so much blood, and which was carried to the greatest height by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by



the peace lately concluded with its greatest enemy. And, lastly, the domestic regulations, which are the basis of the country's welfare, have been totally overturned.

“ For these causes, overcome by the imminent dangers with which our faithful subjects were threatened, and seeing how sincere and express their desires were on this head; we, putting our trust in the Almighty and his divine justice, have ascended the Imperial throne of All the Russias, and have received a solemn oath of fidelity from all our faithful subjects.

“ Petersburg, June 28, O. S. 1762.”

All the adherents of the emperor were arrested; among the rest prince George of Holstein, who came to Petersburg on the 26th, under pretence of making preparations for the emperor's departure; but, in reality, to watch the opposite party. Not the least opposition was made from any quarter to the proceedings of the empress; and, notwithstanding the streets of Petersburg were filled with foldiers, who are generally tumultuous and ungovernable in such dreadful periods; yet the greatest order and discipline were preserved, and no injury was offered to any individuals\*.

At

\* Several English merchants had quitted their houses before they were apprized of the revolution; but found no difficulty in  
returning



At six in the evening the empress, habited like a man, in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn sword in her hand, and mounted upon a grey steed, marched towards Peterhof, accompanied by the princess Dashkof, the Hetman Razomofski, the Orlofs, and her principal adherents, at the head of 10,000 troops.

About eight miles from the capital, Catharine entered a public-house called Krasnoi-Cabak \*, and employed herself for some time in tearing and burning a large quantity of papers. She then flung herself in her clothes upon an ordinary bed, slept about an hour and a half, was on horseback by break of day †, and pro-

returning through the soldiers posted in different parts of the town. One gentleman in particular informed me, that he went about six in the morning to the Custom-house, and was surprised to find no one there. After staying some time, he returned home; and, in his way over the bridge of the Neva, met a friend, who asked him what was the matter, for every thing appeared in confusion. He had scarcely finished these words, when about 300 horsemen, with drawn swords in their hands, galloped across the bridge; a priest traversing the bridge at the same time in a carriage, the two Englishmen stood by the side of it. Some of the guards, as they passed by the priest, waved their swords over their heads, crying out at the same time, "All goes well—vivat Catharine II." And this was the first intelligence these merchants received of the revolution.

\* Rulhiere dignifies this public-house with the appellation of Château.

† From the landlady of the inn, who was alive when I visited Russia, and still kept the house.

ceeded

ceeded about four miles to the convent of St. Sergius at Strelna, into which she retired while the troops encamped around. At eight general Ismailof arrived at Strelna with a message from the emperor; whose situation was now become truly critical.

While the revolution was carrying on at Peterburgh, Peter remained at Oranienbaum in thoughtless security. He passed the evening which preceded the revolution in the fortress, in company with a few chosen friends, with whom he indulged, as usual, in the pleasures of the table, and retired late to rest intoxicated. In the morning he dressed himself in his Prussian uniform, and set out at eleven for Peterhof, in order to celebrate the feast of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, expecting to meet the empress at dinner, and intending \*, as it is reported, to put her under an arrest. He was accompanied by Elizabeth Vorontzof, her uncle count Vorontzof, his favourite Godovitz, marshal Munic, and many of the nobility of both sexes, who

\* If Peter really, as it is said, intended to arrest the empress, his former conduct is in some measure accounted for. He thought that her party was of no consequence, and accordingly disbelieved, or pretended to disbelieve, all the reports of the conspiracy, thinking to crush it at once by securing her person. He put implicit confidence in the nobles whom he placed about the empress; and these very persons were the first to betray him.



formed his court \*. He had not proceeded far before he was met by a person † who had escaped from Peterburgh, and stopping the carriage, acquainted the emperor that he wished to speak with him in private. Peter, however, ordered his attendants to proceed, adding, "Why are you in such a hurry? turn back to Peterhof, and there you will have time enough to speak to me." The other repeating his solicitations, the emperor at length alighted from his carriage, and was informed of the revolution at Peterburgh. Yet his infatuation was still so great, that he doubted the truth of the intelligence; but, when an enumeration of particular circumstances at length awakened him to a sense of his danger, he testified the strongest symptoms of amazement and horror, and was reduced almost to a state of stupefaction. Recovering from this paroxysm of despair, he dispatched an adjutant to Oranienbaum, ordering the garrison to Peterhof. On his arrival, he found the empress departed, and could obtain no information of her proceedings from any person of her court. Marshal Munnich advised him to put himself at the head of his Holstein troops, and march without

\* From the intendant of Oranienbaum, who witnessed these transactions.

† According to Mr. Keith, the person who met him was the servant of count Alexandroyitch Narischkin.



delay to the capital: "I will go before you," said the gallant veteran, "and your majesty's person shall not be touched but through mine." Had this advice been followed, it would have been attended with a glorious, and perhaps a successful event. The Holstein troops, though not exceeding a thousand, were zealously attached to Peter; and Munic was worth a regiment. The courage of the emperor, however, deserted him in this emergency; he fluctuated between hope and fear; formed new resolutions one moment, and renounced them the next.

His own agitation was still further increased by the behaviour of the principal persons, who accompanied him from Oranienbaum, or whom he found at Peterhof. The women vented shrieks, and hung about the emperor in agonies of the deepest distress: every one clamorously offered advice; but the uproar was so great, that the advice could scarcely be heard, and if heard was not attended to, because it was repeatedly changed. Several of the empress's party were present, and artfully fomented the general confusion: under the specious appearance of affection and zeal, they alarmed the fears of the emperor, and objected to every vigorous measure as inadmissible and dangerous. In these circumstances Peter, perplexed by such discordant or treacherous advice, was softened into cowardice by the  
tears

tears of the women, and remained the whole day in a state nearly bordering on distraction. Every moment brought him fresh cause of terror and dismay. He was successively informed, that the empress had received the oath of allegiance from persons of all ranks, that she was mistress of the capital, and was advancing at the head of 10,000 troops. Disheartened by this intelligence, he dispatched repeated messengers to his consort, with proposals of accommodation; and as not one of them came back, he at length determined to take refuge in Cronstadt\*; a measure, which, if he had earlier embraced, might have given a favourable turn to his affairs.

Soon after his first arrival at Peterhof, he had dispatched general Devier and another officer to Cronstadt, to reconnoitre the place: the general was admitted without difficulty; and the officer returned to Peterhof with the account that no news of the revolution had reached Cronstadt, that Devier was preparing for his immediate reception, that his majesty would find there an asylum, where the empress's troops could not penetrate, and from whence he might, in case of extreme necessity, escape by sea to his dominions in Holstein. In consequence of this representa-

\* A town upon a small island in the Gulf of Finland, where the Russian navy is stationed. See the description in the chapter on the Russian navy. Book VI. ch. 2.



tion, the emperor ordered the Holstein troops, who were on their march to Peterhof, to return to Oranienbaum; but, by an unaccountable fatality, protracted his departure till near midnight. On his arrival at the harbour, the imperial boat was refused admittance by the centinels, who objected to the lateness of the hour; and when it was represented to them that the emperor was on board, they still persisted in their refusal, and threatened to fire from the batteries if the vessel did not instantly retire.

This unexpected reception was occasioned by the following circumstances. General Devier, on his arrival at Cronstadt, took the command of the fortress; perceiving that the garrison had no knowledge of the revolution, he was unwilling to give alarm, by spreading the report, and thought it more advisable to wait for the emperor's appearance before he attempted to secure the fidelity of the garrison, or issued orders hostile to the party of the empress. During this interval, admiral Taliezen came to Cronstadt; he was dispatched from Peterburgh by the empress, who had forgotten, in the first hurry of the revolution, to secure that important fortress; and was now sent, if not too late \*, for that purpose. Being  
admitted

\* Considering the great importance of Cronstadt, this neglect seems hardly credible; but I was informed from very good authority,

admitted without opposition, and perceiving the situation of affairs, he instantly commanded the arrest of general Devier, which was instantly obeyed; the marines and sailors being more inclined to execute the orders of an admiral than those of a general. Having secured the general's person, he announced to the garrison the revolution at Peterburgh: the emperor, he said, is deposed; the army and senate have declared for Catharine, and all opposition will be fruitless and dangerous. These arguments, joined to a large quantity of spirituous liquors, produced the desired effect; and Catharine was proclaimed empress. Thus a place of so much importance as to have delayed, if not prevented, the final success of the insurrection, was seized by admiral Taliezen without opposition.

On this disappointment, Peter's only remaining resource was to crowd sail for the Gulf of Bothnia, and seek an asylum in Sweden; from whence he might penetrate to his army in Pomerania, or

thority, that so late as ten in the morning no step had been taken at Peterburgh towards obtaining possession of that fortress. About that time a private person mentioned it by chance to one of the principal insurgents, who, without delay, acquainted the empress. She, conscious of its great importance, immediately dispatched admiral Taliezen. It was past eleven before he set off from Peterburgh, and as he went by water, the distance being twenty miles, it must have been past three before he arrived at Cronstadt. The distance from Peterhof to the same place being only six miles, the emperor might have arrived there long before Taliezen.



to his dominions in Holstein. But it was the fate of the unfortunate monarch to act no decisive part in this important crisis\*: still flattering himself with the hopes of a reconciliation with the empress, and prevailed upon by the cries and entreaties of the women who were on board, he returned to Oranienbaum, where he arrived at four in the morning. When Peter quitted that palace on the preceding morning he was dressed in his Prussian regimentals; on his return he was in his Russian uniform; he now saw his error in despising the prejudices of his subjects, but it was too late. Little circumstances of this kind are not unworthy of the historian's notice, as great events frequently turn upon them; and they often discover the true character of the principal personages concerned in the scene.

On his return to Oranienbaum, he retired alone, and in great agitation, to his house in the fortress, leaving Marshal Munnich and the rest of the court in the palace. At ten he again made

\* A note from the earl of Buckinghamshire to the earl of Hardwicke, will shew that the misfortunes of the emperor arose from his want of resolution as well as from treachery.

April 16, 1766.

Many ladies, some of whom were wives to persons engaged in the conspiracy, attended the emperor to Cronstadt, and their tears and terrors added to his irresolution. I have had account of what passed from almost all of them, and they were too much frightened to

made his appearance in a more composed state of mind. The Holstein guards no sooner beheld their royal master, than they all \* crowded round him; some struggled to kiss his hand, others hung about his person; many knelt down; some even prostrated themselves before him; all shedding tears of affection, and in terms of the strongest attachment conjuring him to lead them against the empress, offering to sacrifice their lives in his defence. Peter, animated by these affecting marks of zeal and fidelity, caught their spirit for a moment, and cried out, "To arms!" but the tears of the women, and his own irresolution, soon damped this momentary fit of courage, and he again reconciled himself to submission.

Early in the morning he dispatched major-

to be consistent in their relations. In two points they all agreed, his timidity, and the reproaches made him by his mistress, for not having followed her advice, and prevented all mischief by confining the empress. One expression they in general say she made use of. "Thou fool, (Durach) had you complied with my request, and shut up this bad woman, the ruin of this day had never fallen upon us." Panin and Villebois were the only men of consequence amongst them; for, notwithstanding all the assertions to the contrary, I know the Hetman did not engage in the design till the morning it took effect, and even then he was not without difficulty persuaded to act the part he did.

\* I was informed of these circumstances from the intendant of Oranienbaum; he shed tears while he described the animated behaviour of the Holstein troops. He said he never witnessed a more affecting scene.



general Ismailof, in whom he reposed implicit confidence, to the empress, with a letter, offering to resign his crown, on condition that he should be permitted to retire into Holstein, with Elizabeth Vorontzof, and Godovitch. Ismailof found the empress in the convent of Strelna, and was immediately admitted to her presence. The great policy on the side of Catharine now consisted in obtaining possession of the emperor's person without effusion of blood ; it was her object, therefore, to amuse him, without driving him to desperate measures ; for it was yet in his power to head his Holstein troops, and defend his life to the last extremity ; or he might be able to make his escape, and involve the empire in all the horrors of a long civil war. The judicious manner in which she conducted this delicate affair, shews her no less able in the arts of negotiation, than in the spirit of enterprize.

She calmly represented to Ismailof the madness of opposing her, now in full possession of sovereign authority : she pointed to her troops, who were posted in large bodies upon the adjacent grounds, adding, that resistance would only draw on Peter and his party the vengeance of an enraged army ; she proposed, therefore, that he should himself repair to Peterhof, where the terms of his abdication might be adjusted. Ismailof, finding the tide of success on the side of the

the empress, and perceiving the clergy, army, and principal nobles, engaged in her cause, was convinced that nothing was left to Peter but submission. Seduced by the insinuating eloquence, engaging address, and promises of the empress, he undertook to persuade his unhappy master, by immediate submission, to save an effusion of blood, which could be productive of no effectual advantage to his cause. With this view he returned to Oranienbaum between ten and eleven, and found the emperor in the palace with Munnich, Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitch, and others, anxiously expecting his arrival. Having retired into another apartment, the result of their conference was, that in less than an hour the emperor, with Elizabeth Vorontzof, Godovitch, and Ismailof, entered the carriage, in which the latter had returned to Oranienbaum. Peter quitted the palace without a single attendant; but he had scarcely proceeded a mile, before a corps of Hussars, of the empress's party, surrounded the carriage, and accompanied it to Peterhof, where he arrived at half past twelve. He was immediately separated from his companions. The empress declined a personal conference; but sent count Panin, who was admitted alone. What passed during this awful interview between that nobleman and his deposed sovereign, is not, nor probably ever will be, dis-



closed to the public; but nothing can convey a stronger picture of the emperor's weakness and pusillanimity, than the abdication in form, which was the result of their conversation\*.

“ During the short period which I have reigned over the Russian empire, I have found, from experience, that my abilities are insufficient to support so great a burden; and that I am not capable of directing the Russian empire in any way, and much less with a despotic power. I also acknowledge that I have been the cause of all the interior troubles, which, had they continued much longer, would have overturned the empire, and have covered me with eternal disgrace. Having seriously weighed these circumstances, I declare, without constraint, and in the most solemn manner, to the Russian empire, and to the whole world, that I for ever renounce the government of the said empire, never desiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an absolute sovereign, or under any other form of government. I declare also, that I will never attempt to re-assume the government. As a pledge of this, I swear sincerely before God, and all the world, to

\* I have sufficient reason to believe that this abdication was made at Peterhof: if, however, as some persons with less probability have asserted, he signed it at Oranienbaum, before he was in the hands of his enemies, his pusillanimity admits of no palliation.

this present renunciation, written and signed with my own hand. PETER.

“ June 29, O. S. 1762.”

Having signed this abdication, he was conveyed in the evening to Robscha, a small imperial palace twenty miles from Peterhof; and the empress returned about the same time to Peterburgh. At seven she made her triumphant entry on horseback, amidst continued huzzas; the streets were filled with a prodigious concourse of people, who were drawn up in lines, and kissed her hands, which she held out to them as she passed along. A great number of priests were assembled upon this occasion about the avenues to the palace; as she rode through their ranks, she stooped down to salute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kissing her hand; a mode of salutation in Russia, expressive of the highest deference.

The first hurry of the revolution was no sooner past, and the spirit of revolt had scarce time to subside, before many repented of having deserted their sovereign. The populace, always prone to change, began to pity their dethroned monarch, and lost sight of his defects in the contemplation of his calamity; they regarded him no longer in the light of a misguided ruler, but as an unfortunate prince, driven from the height of power to the most abject state, and subject to the hor-



rors of perpetual imprisonment. Peter, notwithstanding his violence and incapacity, possessed several qualities of a popular nature, and was greatly beloved by those who had access to his person. During the empress's march to Peterhof, several soldiers manifested strong symptoms of dissatisfaction; some openly murmured at being led against their sovereign, and had Peter, on the first news of the revolution, made his appearance in person, many would have deserted to his standard. This spirit of discontent was observed, and secretly fomented by the partizans of the emperor; the tide of popularity was even turning in his favour, and a new rising hourly expected: at this crisis the decease of Peter delivered Russia from the impending horrors of a civil war\*. This event happened at Robscha on the 6th of July, O. S. on the seventh day of his confinement, and in the 34th year of his age. His body was brought to the convent of St. Alexander Nevski at Petersburg, and

\* There can be no doubt but this unfortunate monarch was put to death; but in what manner the deed was perpetrated, or by whom, no authentic account has ever transpired. Nor is it a matter of wonder that so dark a transaction should be involved in the deepest mystery. Public report designated count Alexèy Orlof, and prince Baratinski, as the principal actors in this horrid tragedy. I am, however, firmly convinced in my own opinion, that the death of the emperor was not perpetrated by the command, nor even with the knowledge of the empress.

there

there lay in state; where persons of all ranks were admitted, according to the custom of Russia, to kiss the hand of the deceased. His remains were then buried in the church of the convent; and the place of the sepulchre was not distinguished either with a tomb or inscription.\*

The death of Peter was not followed by any of those tragical scenes which had hitherto disgraced the revolutions in Russia: not one of the nobles were sent into Siberia; there were no public or private executions; even the personal enemies of the empress were forgiven. Marshal Munnich had offered to support the emperor at the hazard of his own person. Catharine mildly inquired the motives of such an opposition to her interests. "I was at that period," replied Munnich, with a spirit which twenty years imprisonment could not subdue, "engaged by the strongest ties of duty and gratitude to exert myself in behalf of my late master: your majesty is now my sovereign, and you will experience the same fidelity." The empress, struck with the magnanimity of his answer, with equal greatness of mind reposed in him the most unbounded confidence, which was justified by his subsequent

\* On the accession of Paul, as I have before observed, his remains were re-interred with imperial honours in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul.



conduct. As soon as the danger of a new insurrection was dispelled, count Vorontzof was released, and afterwards employed. Elizabeth Vorontzof experienced from the empress no expression of either jealousy or resentment; her person was untouched, and she even retained, undiminished, all the fruits of Peter's bounty. Catharine, with peculiar magnanimity, forgave the indignities which she had received at her suggestion, and even her presumption in aspiring to a participation of the crown. She was permitted to espouse a private person, and still remains at Peterburgh, a living monument of the empress's unparalleled lenity\*. Godovitch, who was particularly obnoxious to the empress, was allowed to retire to his native country†, and the Holstein guards, who had importuned the emperor to lead them against his consort, were not treated with the least severity: those who chose to enlist were incorporated in the different regiments, and the others withdrew themselves unmolested from Russia. Prince George of Holstein, uncle to Peter, and not unacquainted with the design of

\* I was often in her company during my second residence at Peterburgh. She was then in an advanced age, and possessed no remains of elegance or beauty.

† The empress was so much pleased with the fidelity of Godovitch to his unfortunate master, that she afterwards recalled him into Russia, and employed him.

arresting the empress, was detained a prisoner in his own palace during the progress of the revolution; but was afterwards promoted to the rank of field-marshal, and appointed administrator of Holstein during the minority of the great-duke.

Catharine was in the thirty-fourth year of her age when she ascended the throne; and the success of this revolution \* was no less owing to  
to

\* Gregory Orlof, who is mentioned in this account as one of the principal agents of the revolution, was aid-de-camp to count Peter Schewalof, and bore an inferior rank in the army, when his youth and comeliness captivated Catharine, then grand-duchess, soon after the recall of her favourite count Poniatowski. Even at this early period she did not attempt to conceal her attachment from those in whom she reposed any confidence. Pointing him out one day to Mr. Wroughton, "Do you see," she said, "that young man? He has had the audacity to make love to me." This intrigue greatly contributed to facilitate the revolution which placed her on the throne. Orlof himself was a man of a determined and enterprising spirit, and had considerable influence among the officers and soldiers of his own regiment; his attempts were also supported by his four brothers, Alexèy, Vlodimir, Feodor, and Ivan, but particularly by Alexèy, who was in the guards, and was one of the most active agents in the revolution.

It was principally owing to the suggestions of Orlof that Catharine ventured to assume the authority as empress, and not as regent. He was little known before the revolution, and Mr. Keith thus mentions his first public appearance at court. "He wore the ribband of St. Alexander, and the key of chamberlain, and is a good looking man, with a very modest behaviour. I could not recollect having ever seen him before." He was afterwards rapidly promoted to the highest honours and offices of government, both civil and military, and was created prince of the German empire. He gained such an ascendancy over his royal mistress, that she was only  
prevented



to her own personal spirit and engaging address,  
than

prevented from marrying him by the strong remonstrances of count Panin, and marshal Razomofsky.

Orlof gradually diminished the affection of the empress by the coarseness of his manners, his gross inattention, and frequent infidelities. During his journey to Moscow in 1771, to check the progress of the plague, his enemies availed themselves of his absence to undermine his influence. Informed of these cabals, he suddenly returned to Petersburg, and regained, by increased assiduity, his former ascendancy, though he did not wholly recover her affections.

Deeming his power too strongly rooted to be again shaken, he repaired to Fotzani in 1772, to negotiate a peace with the Turks, where he displayed all the pomp of Imperial magnificence. This absence gave success to the cabals of his enemies, and his disgrace was announced by the introduction of a new favourite, Vassilchikef, at the instigation of count Panin and marshal Romanzof.

With a view to crush this cabal by his presence, Orlof instantly broke up the congress of Fotzani, and travelled with such expedition as to perform a journey of 1800 miles in nine days and nights. Arriving at the gates of Petersburg, he was refused admittance, and received an order from the empress, to repair to his country house at Gatchina, under pretence of performing quarantine. Still, however, he flattered himself with hopes of being recalled, and when undeceived by a letter from the empress, forbidding him to appear at court, was so much affected that he fainted away.

Being afterwards ordered to Revel, he passed through Petersburg, and, without previous notice, called upon his brother Alexèy, while he was at dinner with a large company. A gentleman who was present described the prince as extremely agitated; after embracing his brothers, he sat down to table, started up, resumed his seat, again rose, whispered his brothers, and retired with them into another apartment. On the following day he departed for Revel, and soon after set out on his travels; but he had scarcely reached Dresden before the empress recalled him to Petersburg, and offered him his former apartments in the palace, which he declined,

than to the zeal of her party, and the popularity of her cause\*.

He declined, probably at the instigation of his brothers, and resumed his journey.

He afterwards espoused his niece, and was so much affected with her death, that he lost his senses, and died in a state of insanity.

By prince Orlof the empress had a son, whom I saw at the corps de cadets, where he was educated; he appeared to me, in 1779, to be about 17 years of age. He lodged in the house of Ribas, the principal manager under M. de Betskoi. He passed at first for the son of a gentleman of the name of Schwerin, but assumed that of Bobrinski, from an estate which the empress purchased for him. He was apprised of his origin from the high marks of distinction which he received. He was often admitted to the empress. Prince Orlof called him his son, and carried his portrait in the lid of his snuff-box. A Russian nobleman told me that he once took up the box by chance, and knew the picture from its striking resemblance. He ventured, however, to ask whom it represented, and prince Orlof, who was present, replied with a smile, "It is my portrait in a man's dress, before I was married." Bobrinski afterwards travelled, and I heard of him when I was at Geneva, in 1784.

The empress always retained a high degree of regard for the memory of prince Orlof, and treated his brothers with great marks of favour and confidence. The family received estates, containing 45,000 peasants, and to the amount of £. 3,000,000 sterling in money, houses, plate, and jewels.

\* This was the first circumstantial account ever published of this extraordinary revolution; and I have the satisfaction to find, from the perusal of several documents which have since fallen into my possession, and of the various narratives which have appeared since the death of the empress, that no material fact has been justly controverted. This Tour being published during the life of the empress, and of the principal persons concerned in the revolution, delicacy prevented me from acknowledging the sources from which I derived the principal information; but I now have it in my power to disclose many of my authorities.

I was



I was principally indebted to count Solmes, the Prussian envoy, who had resided at Petersburg since 1763, and collected various anecdotes relative to the life and accession of the empress. From these materials he formed an interesting narrative, which he read to me, during my continuance at Petersburg.

I also received from Muller, the celebrated historian, much interesting information, as well as from Staehlin, counsellor of state, and author of several valuable publications, and from several British merchants, who witnessed the revolution. Besides these, some anecdotes were communicated to me by several Russian nobles and officers, some of whom were with Peter at Oranienbaum, and others who espoused the party of the empress. These different accounts I noted down, and afterwards compared and combined them, to form my narrative.

During my stay at Warsaw, many circumstances were communicated by Sir Thomas Wroughton, who long resided at Petersburg. He was the intimate friend of the king of Poland, when count Poniatowski, and possessed the implicit confidence of the empress.

After my return, I had the good fortune to obtain from the late earl of Hardwicke, two curious dispatches from Mr. Keith, the English minister at St. Petersburg, to the secretary of state, and a private note from the earl of Buckinghamshire, who succeeded Mr. Keith. This note I have printed in this chapter, and have given in the appendix the letter of Mr. Keith as an authentic document.

Rulhiere has written the history of this revolution, which was long anxiously expected, but was not published till after the death of the empress. It contains many interesting anecdotes, which could only have been collected by a person who was at Petersburg, at the time of this event; but they are blended with vague accounts and coffee-house stories.



## C H A P. 2.

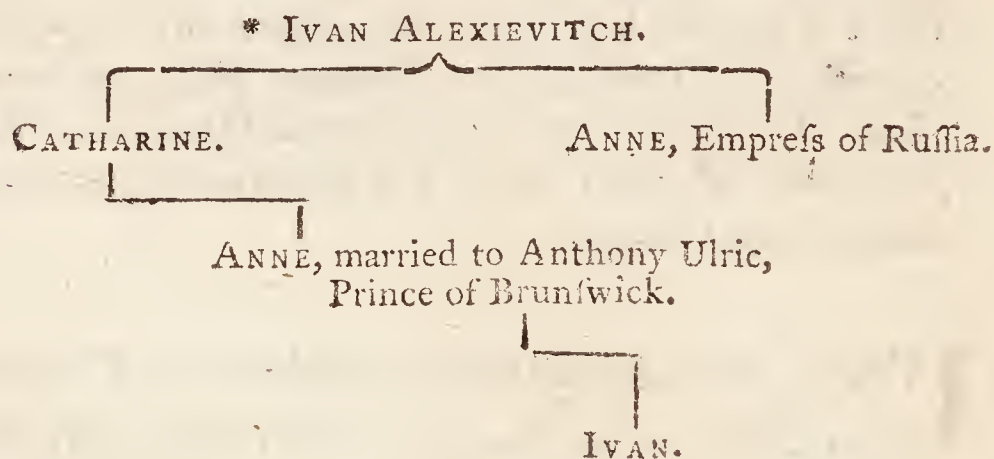
Family and birth of Ivan.—Emperor on the death of Anne.—Deposed by Elizabeth.—Imprisonment at Riga, Dunamund, Oranienburgh, and Schlusselfburgh.—Description of his apartment.—Mode of life.—Intellects—Ferocity.—Visited by Peter III.—Removal to Kexholm.—Brought back to Schlusselfburgh.—Attempt of Mirovitch in his favour.—Death of Ivan.—Trial and execution of Mirovitch.—Punishment of his accomplices.—Suspicion of a collusion between the court and Mirovitch.—Refuted.—Account of Ivan's parents and family.—Biographical anecdotes of count Munic.

**I**VAN, the unfortunate subject of the present narrative, was lineally descended, on the female side, from the tzar Ivan Alexievitch, elder brother



brother of Peter the Great \*; and was son of Anne of Mecklenburgh, by Anthony Ulric prince of Brunfwick. He was born on the 4th of August 1740, created great-duke by his aunt the empress Anne, and, at her demise, on the 28th of October, succeeded to the throne, from which he was deposed by Elizabeth on the 6th of December 1741.

The soldiers, sent to arrest the young emperor, were ordered to steal softly into his apartments, and, if asleep, not to disturb him. As he was slumbering by the side of his nurse, they stood round the cradle in respectful silence, at least an hour before the prince opened his eyes, then the soldiers disputing who should carry him, the child was terrified, and cried; they immediately desisted, and permitted the nurse to approach, who covered him with a cloke, and accompanied him in a sledge to the palace. Elizabeth took



See Geneal. Table of the House of Romanof, in Vol. II. Book III.  
at the end of Chap. III.

the

the child, kissed it, and, while it was yet in her arms, a body of foldiers passing by, shouted, "Long live Elizabeth!" The infant pleased with the acclamations, stretched out his little hand, and smiling, tried to imitate the shouts of the foldiers; on which Elizabeth exclaimed, "Innocent creature! thou perceivest not that thou art endeavouring to speak against thyself\*."

It is difficult to trace Ivan distinctly from the time of his deposition to his imprisonment at Schluffelburgh; but the following account seems the most probable. He and his parents were first confined in the fortrefs of Riga, a year and an half; removed from thence to Dunamund †, and afterwards to Oranienburgh, a small town in the province of Vorentz. Here they remained two years under the care of baron Korf, who behaved to his prisoners with great humanity. From Oranienburgh the whole family was transferred to Kolmogori; but Ivan was imprisoned there for several years separately, and unknown to his parents.

Busching says, that when his parents were sent to Kolmogori, Ivan, then in the eighth year of his age, was left at Oranienburgh; and that some time afterwards a certain monk contrived

\* Bus. Hist. Mag. vol. I. p. 374.

† Manstein's Memoirs, p. 315.



to release him from prison, and convey him as far as Smolensko, where they were surprized and taken \*. He was also confined in a convent situated on an island in the lake of Valdai, not far from the high road between Petersburg and Moscow. The time of his imprisonment in this convent, and his situation until his removal to Schluffelburgh, are circumstances which I was not able to ascertain : but it is not surprizing, that there should be much obscurity in the history of a state-prisoner immured from his infancy.

During the last eight years of his life, Ivan was imprisoned in the fortrefs of Schluffelburgh ; whither he was brought in 1756, in the sixteenth year of his age. In the same year he was secretly conveyed, by count Peter Shuvalof, grand-master of the artillery, to the house of his cousin Ivan Shuvalof at Petersburg ; where Elizabeth saw and spoke to him without making herself

\* Bus. Hist. Mag. VI. p. 529. There is an inaccuracy in Busching's account, probably only a false print, viz. that he was in the eighth year of his age when his parents were sent to Kolomogori ; for in March 1746, the time of Anne's death, he was only six years and seven months old : and some time must be allowed for conveying his parents from Oranienburgh to Kolmogori. Busching was informed, by baron Korf, that they were all confined together at Oranienburgh : and I was told by an English gentleman, who had been at Kolomogori, that Ivan had been there imprisoned for a short time.

known.

known. It is said that she burst into tears at this interview. On the ensuing day the prince was re-conducted to his prison.

When I visited Schlusselfburgh, I was admitted into the fortress, but was not suffered to enter the room in which he had been confined; yet as I examined one that was similar, and have conversed with several persons who have seen it, I am able to give the following description; it is situated towards the farthest extremity of the corridore, described on a former occasion\*; is about 25 feet square, and vaulted; the walls are of bare stone, and the floor of brick. The window was not closed, like those of the adjacent cells, but glazed; and covered with a kind of plaister, which, while it admitted the light, could not be seen through†. There was no other furniture than a truckle-bed, a table, and some chairs. In this dismal apartment he was immured during the space of eight years, excepting when he was occasionally conducted to the interior fortress‡, which communicated at top with the air; but in the enjoyment of which the apprehensions of his escape rendered it impolitic

\* Vol. II. Book IV. Chap. 7.

† In some recent publications, the apartment of Ivan is erroneously described as a casemate of the fortress, the very hole of which was bricked up.

‡ See the account of Schlusselfburgh, in the last Volume.



to gratify him, as often as humanity could have wished.

With respect to his intellects, as he had been imprisoned from the second year of his age, his ideas of course were few, and his knowledge exceedingly limited, and, though not absolutely an idiot, he discovered occasional symptoms of insanity. He could neither read nor write; he spoke the Russian language, and knew a few German words, which he must have learned when almost a child from his parents; he was rather inarticulate in his speech, and, when agitated, stammered exceedingly \*. He was not ignorant

\* As Castéra, in his life of Catharine the Second, and others, on the authority of M. de Segur, some time French ambassador at the Court of Peterburgh, have asserted that Ivan was not deficient in sense, did not stammer, and was capable of reading and writing, I deem it necessary to mention the authorities from which I derived my information. 1. Count Solmes, who was at Petersburgh before the death of Ivan. 2. Mr. Lieman, a Dane, who had been long resident in England, was, during my travels in Russia, settled at Schlusselfburgh, where he had established a manufactory for printing cottons, and was in habits of intimacy with Berednikof, the governor of the fortress. 3. Berednikof himself, whom Mr. Lieman at my request invited to dinner. 4. A Russian nobleman of undoubted veracity, who received the account from Volkof the counsellor of state, sent by Peter the third to Schlusselfburgh, to discover the real character of Ivan. 5. Lef Alexandrevitch Narishskin, great chamberlain to the empress, who was present at the interview between Peter and Ivan.—In my second visit to Peterburgh, he confirmed my narrative, and even expressed his surprise at the accuracy of my statement. From these authorities, and others, which

I am

ignorant of his descent, and that he had once been emperor. He was strongly prepossessed with the hopes of re-ascending the throne ; used frequently to allude to his behaviour when that event should take place, and whenever he was roused to passion, would threaten to punish those who provoked him. He was exceedingly choleric and ferocious, and would rage almost to madness whenever he was intoxicated. For some time he was improperly indulged in every article for his table ; he was served in plate, had a great variety of dishes, and all kinds of wine. But to prevent his frequent excesses, these luxuries were judiciously diminished ; though his maintenance was still amply provided for by the allowance of £.20 a month \*.

He would change his dress twenty times a day, and walk about his room, admiring himself with puerile satisfaction. In regard to his religious opinions, he had a faint knowledge of the Greek persuasion, and used frequently to pray in the

I am not at present at liberty to mention, I compiled the whole of my narrative.

It is barely sufficient to notice the improbability of another assertion advanced by the Biographer of Catharine, that Peter intended to nominate Ivan his successor, and had even brought him to Petersburg for that purpose, where he is said to have been at the time of the revolution.

\* An ample allowance in Russia, where provisions were so cheap.



most fervent manner. Once a year he was accustomed to confess, and receive the sacrament, and often boasted of obtaining revelations from the angel Gabriel.

He certainly knew that the empress Elizabeth was seated upon that throne from which he had been deposed; but it does not appear that he was ever acquainted with her death, and the subsequent changes. Peter III. soon after his accession, came to Schlusielburgh, accompanied by Godovitch, Leff Alexandrevitch Narishkin, Volkof, and baron Korf. In crossing the arm of the Neva to the island, the boat which conveyed Peter and his suite struck against a fragment of the stone, and was nearly overset. On landing, the emperor sent one of his suite to the governor, with an order of admission signed by himself, was immediately received within the fortress, and conducted to the prince's apartment. Peter for a short time remained concealed, while his nobles and attendants conversed with Ivan; but he soon joined the company, drank a dish of coffee, and entered into discourse with the prince.

I endeavoured to collect some intelligence of what passed at this conference; but the information I received, even from persons of good authority, was extremely various and contradictory. Instead, therefore, of detailing uncertain

and discordant anecdotes, I shall submit to the reader a translation from Busching's account of this interview, which must be deemed authentic, because he received it from baron Korf, who was present.

“ In March 1762, Peter III. desirous of seeing Ivan, set off early in the morning for Schlusselfburgh, accompanied by baron Korf, Leff Alexandrievitch Narishkin, and Volkof. He travelled with post-horses, and kept his intention so secret, that it was noon before his uncle prince George of Holstein was made acquainted with his departure. Peter assumed the character of an officer; and, having shewn the governor of Schlusselfburgh an order for admission, previously signed by himself, went, with his attendants, to the apartment of prince Ivan, which he found a wretched place, provided with the meanest furniture. His clothes were clean and in good condition, but extremely coarse; and he was remarkably neat in his person, as well as in his linen. He had the appearance of an idiot, and spoke in a confused manner. One moment he affirmed that he was the emperor Ivan; and the next, that the soul of that emperor, who was no longer alive, had migrated into his body. On being asked what induced him to imagine that he was an emperor; he replied, ‘ he learnt it from his parents and the soldiers who guarded him.’ Be-



ing questioned whether he recollected his parents, he answered in the affirmative; and then bitterly lamented, that the empress Elizabeth had always kept them, as well as himself, in a wretched state; adding, he well remembered that he and they were formerly under the care of an officer, who was the only person that had ever shewn them any tenderness or humanity. Korf instantly demanding, whether he still should know this officer, 'I could not recollect him at present,' answered Ivan, 'as it is so long ago since I saw him, and I was then a child; but his name I have not forgotten, it is Korf.' The general was greatly affected. Ivan had heard of the great-duke\* and his wife; and, as he repeatedly said that he hoped again to be emperor, he was asked in what manner he would then behave to them; 'I would have them both executed,' returned the prince. Peter was much shocked he determined, however†, to order the construction of a small house in the fortress for the unhappy prisoner, and proposed to treat him in a

\* Namely, Peter and Catharine.

† We may collect from these expressions, that Busching supposed the house within the small fortress to have been constructed for Ivan, and not for the empress; but he was probably unacquainted with the circumstance, that Ivan was removed to Kexholm the beginning of June; this removal was perhaps occasioned by the design which the emperor had formed, of confining the empress in the fortress of Schlusselfburgh. When Peter visited Schlusselfburgh the shell of the house was nearly finished.

more humane manner. Prince George of Holstein even advised Peter to restore the prince to liberty, to send him into Germany, together with his father, Anthony Ulric, and the rest of his family, and allow them a handsome pension; but the emperor did not seem to approve the advice\*.

To this curious account I am enabled to add an authentic anecdote. Peter had not been long with Ivan before he became dispirited and suddenly indisposed; he accordingly quitted the room, and went out into the air. "I feel myself now," said he, to one of his suite, "much refreshed; I was indeed, exceedingly shocked, and very near fainting." He then returned into the apartment, and renewed his conversation with Ivan, with whom he staid near an hour.

Peter, it is said, proposed to release Ivan from his imprisonment; and as he had conceived an idea that, perhaps, policy had induced the prince to counterfeit idiotism, for the purpose of discovering the truth, he ordered a † confidential person to remain for some days in Ivan's apartment. This person soon perceived that his behaviour was not the effect of dissimulation; he at times talked wildly, as if he was really disordered in

\* See Geschichte des Russischen Kayfers Johann. des Dritten. Bus. H. M. VI. p. 530, & seq.

† Volkof, who was afterwards governor of Peterburgh.



his understanding; and frequently with raptures asserted, that the angel Gabriel appeared to him in visions, and brought revelations from heaven. Being asked by this person, why he imagined that he had once been emperor, he replied, "I was told so by one of my guards, who looking stedfastly at me, burst suddenly into tears; on my demanding the reason, he informed me, that he, as well as the whole nation, had formerly taken the oath of allegiance to me as emperor; and he then gave me the account of my dethronement, and of the accession of Elizabeth."

Peter, fully convinced that Ivan's understanding was disordered, soon relinquished all thoughts of releasing him; and afterwards ordered him to be sent by water to Kexholm, a fortress situated in a small island, where the Voxen flows into the lake of Ladoga. He was conveyed across that lake in a small open boat to a galliot, which lay at anchor to receive him at some distance from Schlusselfburgh. The wind being boisterous, and the water extremely agitated, he at first trembled with fear; but, in a short time, became composed, although there arose a violent storm, which the watermen could scarcely weather. The waves, indeed, ran so high, that the boat was overset; and the prince was not saved without the greatest difficulty. In the month of August, Ivan was again removed  
from

from the fortress of Kexholm to that of Schlusfelburgh, by order of the empress Catharine. The carriage in which he was conducted breaking down near the village of Schluffelburgh, he was led through the place covered with a cloak, and thus settled again in his former habitation\*.

This unhappy state-prisoner was detained in the same fortress until his decease, the morning of the 5th † of July 1764. Two officers, captain Vlasief and lieutenant Tchekin, were appointed for his guard, and stationed in his apartment. In the fortress was a company, consisting of near an hundred soldiers, of whom eight or ten stood sentinel in the corridore close to the door of his room, and within the passage leading to it; the rest were posted in the guard-house, at the gate, and in different parts of the fortress, under the command of the governor. At that time the regiment of Smolensko was quartered in the village of Schluffelburgh; and every week an hundred men relieved the guard in the fortress. Vassili Mirovitch, an under lieutenant in this regiment, by attempting to release Ivan, was the cause of his death. He was grandson of the rebel of the same name, who followed Mazeppa Hetman of the Cossacs,

\* These two curious circumstances I received from Berednikoff himself.

† O. S. 16th N. S.



when he revolted from Peter the Great, and joined Charles XII. in his ill-concerted expedition into the Ukraine. Mirovitch had applied to the empress to restore the estates of his grandfather, which had been confiscated after the battle of Pultava; but meeting with a refusal, as well in this as in other applications, he formed the desperate resolution of delivering Ivan, and replacing him on the throne. Being, however, without fortune or connexions, the means he was enabled to adopt were inadequate to the rashness of the enterprize.

A few months before the purposed time of executing this daring enterprize, he communicated it at Casan to Apollon Ushakof, a lieutenant in the regiment of Veliki-Luki. These two associates repaired to the church of the Virgin Mary, where they took an oath of secrecy and fidelity on the altar, and, mixing fanaticism with treason, invoked the Almighty to assist and sanctify their designs. They also joined in drawing up a manifesto, which they purposed to distribute as soon as Ivan should be restored to liberty. The execution of this enterprize was delayed until summer; when the empress was expected to be absent from the capital on an expedition into Livonia. Soon afterwards Mirovitch joined his regiment, which was quartered at Schlusselfburgh; but his confederate Ushakof was accidentally

dentally drowned, on the 29th of March, in his journey to Smolensko.

Mirovitch, deprived of his associate, does not appear to have found any other person in whom he could repose equal confidence. He founded, however, Tikon Casatkin, a servant of the court; and artfully endeavoured to infuse into his mind rebellious principles, in order to make him, at a proper season, the instrument of his purposes. But he was somewhat more explicit with Simeon Tchevaridsef, lieutenant in the corps of artillery, to whom he communicated, first, by dark and obscure hints, and then in somewhat plainer terms, a design of releasing Ivan, and of conducting him to that corps stationed at Petersburg. But he mentioned it merely as a project, without fixing any precise time for attempting it, or naming himself as the person who would dare to undertake it.

With so little management, and no precaution in case of failure, did Mirovitch resolve to carry his design into execution; but he was upon duty during a whole week in the fortrefs, without finding a favourable opportunity. He observed, however, and set a private mark on the door of Ivan's apartment, and shewed it to Simeon Tchevaridsef, who came from Petersburg to visit him. At the close of the week his turn expired; but he obtained, under some specious pretence,



tence, the permission of being continued on guard on the evening of the 4th of July\*. He did not, however, previously gain more than one common soldier, whose name was Jacob Piskof. It was not till about ten at night that he first hinted his intention to three corporals and two soldiers, who, though they at first positively refused to join him, yet, by the assistance of Piskof, and by his own artful persuasions, were at length prevailed upon to favour his designs; but could not be induced to act with that determined resolution which the circumstances required. On the contrary, they continued wavering, and alarmed with the danger, proposed to defer the enterprize until a more convenient opportunity. Mirovitch at first artfully appeared to yield to their fears; but between one and two in the morning he suddenly renewed his solicitations; when, incapable of resisting his plausible manner, the distribution he made among them of some money, the promise of more, the expectation of great promotion, and his authority, as commanding officer, they were induced to second his attempt.

Having thus secured six assistants, he summoned about forty of the soldiers stationed in that part of the fortress, some of whom were asleep,

\* 15th, O. S.

and others upon guard; and, under pretence of an order from the empress, commanded them to load their pieces with ball, and to follow him; and, before they were aware of his intention, led them towards the apartment of Ivan. In his way he was met by Berednikof the governor. This officer had retired to rest, but being alarmed by one of the guards, hastily dressed himself, and accosting Mirovitch, commanded him to declare the cause of the disturbance. Mirovitch returned no answer; but, striking him on the forehead with the but-end of his musket, delivered him a prisoner to some of his party, and with the remainder advanced to a wooden gate, which guarded the passage leading to the prince's apartment. He demanded admittance; but meeting with a refusal from the centinels, ordered his followers to discharge their muskets, and force their way; they obeyed, and the centinels returned the fire. The soldiers, deceived by Mirovitch, had expected no opposition; surprized, therefore, and alarmed at the resistance of the centinels, they retired with precipitation, notwithstanding all the efforts of their leader, and insisted on seeing the order of the empress. Mirovitch immediately read to them a paper\*, which

\* It is difficult, at this distance of time, to find out the contents of this paper; but it appeared, from the examination of Mirovitch and



which he had forged, at the bottom of which he had counterfeited the imperial signature; and as it was no difficult matter to deceive ignorant men, few of whom could read, he prevailed upon them by entreaties, promises, and threats, to make a second attempt. During this short interval, a cannon was drawn from one of the bastions, which Mirovitch himself pointed against the passage leading to the prince's apartment, when the door was suddenly opened, and the whole party suffered to enter without opposition.

On the first attempt of Mirovitch, Vlasief and Tchekin had dispersed the assailants by ordering the centinels to fire; but when they returned, and Mirovitch, with his cannon pointed, seemed determined to force his way, the officers, finding no possibility of further resistance, attacked with their drawn swords the unfortunate object of this contest, who had been awakened by the tumult,

and his associates, to have been obscurely drawn up. As he asserted that what he read to them issued from the empress, he could not lay open his design of releasing Ivan; and probably the paper contained only an order to take the prince from the custody of Vlasief and Tchekin, who might be represented as betraying their trust: this supposition is confirmed by the violent abuse which the soldiers, on their return to the second attack, threw out against these two officers. Nikita Lebedef, the next in command to Mirovitch, was the only person who perceived that the order was counterfeited, and, though he did not assist Mirovitch, he was afterwards punished for not discovering the imposition to the misguided soldiers.

and

and had started out of bed. The prince, though without any weapon, and almost naked, yet, animated with despair, made a vigorous defence; he parried their repeated thrusts; and, though pierced through the hand, broke one of their swords, until overpowered and stabbed in several places, he was dispatched by a wound in the back. The officers immediately threw open the door, and, pointing to the body of Ivan, exclaimed, "Here is your emperor \*!" Mirovitch, beholding the dead body, started back in an agony of surprize; soon, however, recollecting himself, he made no other attempt; but returned with perfect composure to the governor,

\* Such was the account of this transaction, which I received from the governor; but I deem it a duty to insert a note from the earl of Buckinghamshire to the earl of Hardwicke, which relates more circumstantially the behaviour of Mirovitch.

July 26th, 1764.

"The officer then (after having stabbed Ivan) produced the body to the lieutenant and his soldiers, and told them they might now do with their emperor what they thought proper. Mirvitz carried the corps to the foot of the guard, and covered it with the colours, and then, with all his soldiers, prostrated himself before it, and kissed the hands; then taking off his own gorget, sash, and sword, laid them by the body, and addressing himself to the colonel of Korgalow, who was then arrived, and pointing to the body, told him, 'There is your emperor, you may do as you please. Adverse fortune has blasted my design. I mourn not for my own fate, but for the misery of my poor fellow soldiers, the innocent victims of my undertaking.' He then embraced the under officers, and surrendered himself and his soldiers."

and



and delivering up his sword, calmly said, "I am now your prisoner."

On the following day, the body of Ivan was exposed in a shirt and pair of drawers before the guard-house in the fortress, whither an immense concourse of people flocked from all quarters. I was informed by a gentleman\*, who was present on the occasion, that he found it impossible to describe the animated grief which appeared in the countenances, attitudes, and expressions of the people at the sight of a prince, who had once been seated upon the throne, whose misfortune only, and no crime, had occasioned his imprisonment, and whose wretched existence had been prematurely closed by the hand of violence. The concourse at last being so great as to excite apprehensions of a tumult, the body was wrapped in a sheep-skin, put into a coffin, and buried in an antient chapel of the fortress, which is now demolished.

According to the information I received from those who had seen the body of Ivan, he was six feet in height, handsome, and athletic; he had small fiery eyes, reddish hair and beard, and a complexion uncommonly fair, though pallid from confinement.

The account of this wild enterprize, and of

\* Mr. Lieman.

Ivan's death, was forwarded to count Panin, together with several copies of the manifesto, found upon Mirovitch. It contained the most virulent abuse and dreadful imprecations against the empress, who was represented as an usurper of the throne of which Ivan was the lawful sovereign; and the copies were to have been distributed as soon as the prince should be rescued and brought to the capital. Count Panin dispatched immediate intelligence to the empress in Livonia; who commanded lieutenant-general Weymar to repair without delay to 'Schluffelburgh, to examine Mirovitch and his associates. This information, together with the confession of Mirovitch and his accomplices, was laid before a committee composed of five principal ecclesiastics, the senate, and of other nobles high in rank and office. Mirovitch and his abettors, being removed to Petersburg, were examined at different times before this committee, both separately and together; and the result of all these enquiries tended to shew, that Mirovitch had not been instigated to this attempt; but had originally contrived the plot, and acted throughout the whole transaction solely from himself.

During several meetings held on this occasion, Mirovitch astonished the committee by his insolent and undaunted behaviour; at last, however, he was brought in some measure to a sense



of his crime, by the representations of the archbishop of Rostof, and four nobles specially deputed for that purpose, and being again exhorted to confess if he had any associates, he firmly replied, "As a man devoted to die, I solemnly declare, that my confession contains all I know. I call upon the Almighty to witness the truth of this assertion, and denounce his severest vengeance upon me in the next world, if I have misrepresented any circumstance, or concealed any accomplice." Being convicted of high treason, he was condemned to lose his head; and the body, together with the scaffold upon which he was to suffer, were ordered to be burnt upon the spot. The sentence was performed on the 26th of September, in the city of Peterburgh. Mirovitch walked to the place of execution along the streets, through an innumerable concourse of people, with an unconcerned air, and steady countenance. Having mounted the scaffold, he cast his eyes around him with a look of indifference, then crossed himself, and without uttering a single word \*, laid down his head upon the block, and it was severed from his body at one stroke.

Mirovitch alone suffered capitally; his abet-

\* It may not be improper to remark, that Mirovitch was not gagged, as has been falsely asserted.

tors were subjected to different penalties, according to the degrees of their guilt. Piskof, who was the most criminal, was sentenced to run the gauntlet twelve times through a line of a thousand men, and his five associates ten times; they were then condemned for life to hard labour and imprisonment; a sentence heavier than death itself. It is needless to discriminate the penalties imposed upon the others, which consisted chiefly in the gauntlet, in degradation, and in condemnation to serve in distant garrisons. It will be sufficient to observe, that fifty-five delinquents were involved in the guilt of Mirovitch: to these must be added Casatkin and Tchevaridsef, who were convicted of holding treasonable conversations with him; and Nikita Lebedef, who was punished for not having undeceived the soldiers, by exposing the falsity of the order forged by Mirovitch.

Such are the principal facts which I was able to collect respecting the life and death of Ivan; and I have endeavoured to state them with perfect impartiality. The same regard to truth prevents me from concealing reports industriously circulated, that the court not only connived at, but even encouraged the attempt of Mirovitch. The accusation is thus stated. Orders were previously given to Vlasief and Tchekin to destroy Ivan, if any attempt to release him should be



likely to succeed, and for the purpose of furnishing them with a pretence for dispatching him, Mirovitch was privately instigated to form a conspiracy in his favour. In support of this accusation it is urged: 1. In the attack of Mirovitch and his party on the guards of Ivan, not one person on either side was either killed or wounded. 2. The conduct of Mirovitch on the failure of his project, his daring behaviour under his trial, and his calm composure at the place of execution, are not, on any other supposition, to be accounted for. 3. Orders were given to Vlasief and Tchekin for putting Ivan to death; and they were promoted for executing those orders.

1. With respect to the first assertion, we may readily allow the fact to have been very extraordinary, but by no means improbable. It is a well-known circumstance, that in the outskirts of an army large bodies of light troops frequently approach close to each other, and fire without effect. And if this frequently happens in the day-time; the probability is still further increased, when we consider that the rencounter in question happened at two in the morning, and in the midst of a thick fog\*. Nor is it extraordinary

\* The truth of this circumstance has been erroneously called in question; for I was informed at Schlusfelburgh, that almost every morning

ordinary that the centinels of Ivan, who were but few, and some of these few sheltered in the passage, and others probably behind the pillars of the corridore, should not be wounded by the random shots of the assailants, wavering in their resolutions, and uncertain whether to comply with, or disobey, the orders of their leader. With respect to the party of Mirovitch, the whole number did not attack in a collective body; many of them continued at some distance; and they were all so alarmed at the unexpected return of their fire, that they instantly dispersed, and probably before all the guards had discharged their muskets; and as the guard consisted only of eight or ten, as the night was dark, and the area large, it cannot be deemed surprising that they missed the assailants. To a person who has been upon the spot, and examined the position of the place, these suppositions are far from appearing improbable; whereas, on the other hand, if we conclude the whole to have been concerted, we must allow that every individual, on both sides, was previously informed that the attack, as well as defence, should be feigned: a case in itself impossible, that a design of such importance, and the mode of accomplishing it, should

morning in summer a fog precedes sun-rise, which is naturally accounted for from the situation of the island on which the fortress stands, in a marshy soil, and close to the largest lake in Europe.



be entrusted to so many, and those of no higher rank than common foldiers \*.

2. The second argument is drawn from the conduct of Mirovitch on the death of Ivan, during his trial, and at the place of execution. In regard to his behaviour on the death of Ivan, it is objected, that, instead of attempting to make any resistance, he calmly, and of his own accord, delivered himself a prisoner. To this it may be answered, that he had founded all his hopes of success on obtaining possession of Ivan's person; the moment, therefore, that those hopes were frustrated by the death of the prince, his fate was decided. He had great difficulty in persuading the foldiers to make the second attack, when the prince was alive; what assistance, therefore, could be expected from them when they knew that he was dead? They had no other object than to release Ivan, and had even been unwillingly hurried on to favour that attempt. Could Mirovitch suppose that they would desperately assist him in attacking the officers, and in forcing an escape? And indeed whither could he escape? He could neither conceal himself in the fortrefs;

\* In reply to this argument, it has been said that the cartridges distributed to the foldiers on both sides were without balls; but no authority has ever been adduced in support of this assertion. If we could suppose that the murder was committed intentionally, ball-cartridges could not have been withheld from a motive of humanity.

nor could he easily withdraw from the island. He had, therefore, no other alternative than self-destruction, or an immediate surrender. His preference of a surrender may be attributed to impulse of the moment, or rather perhaps to the cool intrepidity of his character. He had ventured his life and fortunes upon one risk of extreme hazard, and when that failed him, he knew and was prepared for the worst, and fullenly resigned himself to his fate. But after all, it is too much to expect that we should justify the conduct of an enthusiast, in the moment of disappointment and despair, on the principles of sound-judgment and deliberate reason \*.

His

\* I cannot in this place avoid citing a passage from an anonymous author, who supposes a collusion between Mirovitch and the court: “Après un si noble exploit Messrs. Wlasief & Tchekin jettent le corps du prince assassiné devant la porte; et par un effet miraculeux Mirovitz, *qui ne connoissoit alors le prince Ivan que de nom, le reconnoit dans ce moment pour son empereur non obstant le brouillard épais.*” A strange objection! as if, because Mirovitch was not acquainted with the person of Ivan, he should not know, or at least believe, the dead body to be his, when the guards cried out, “Here is your emperor!” Could he conceive they had murdered an innocent person, merely with the view of deluding him? And were not the doors of the apartment thrown open, and he at full liberty to search and satisfy himself? Another passage from the same author must be mentioned for its glaring falsity: “Le coup inattendu le frappa tellement, qu’il temoigne son repentir et son affliction à toute sa troupe, se rend prisonnier; et *de toute sa garde qui étoit complice du même crime, lui seul qui en est le chef est*



His daring insolence before the committee, and his calm indifference at the place of execution, are, it is alleged, not to be accounted for, but, on the supposition that he either endeavoured to prevent the idea of collusion, or, because he was secure of pardon. It is surmised, therefore, that he was only to lay down his head on the block, and a reprieve was to be ready at the place of execution. To this I briefly answer, that it is not to be conceived by what promises a man could possibly be persuaded to hazard himself in so critical a state. What could induce him to risk his life under a momentary stroke, to be given or suspended by a power interested in his destruction? for the dead betray nothing; and his death would preclude all discovery of so infamous a transaction. And these strange suppositions are advanced, as if no rebel

*arreté, et lui seul en est puni.*" The reader will be able to judge whether the soldiers who assisted Mirovitch were equally guilty with him; and whether he was the *only* person arrested, and the *only* person punished. The author of the above malevolent paragraph did not know, perhaps, that, by the laws of Russia, capital penalties are seldom inflicted; or that the accomplices of Mirovitch were severely punished. We may remind him, that even in the rebellion of Pugatchef, that impostor and four of his principal confederates were the only persons who suffered death; the other rebels were knotted and condemned to hard labour and imprisonment. The cause must be very bad indeed, when its defenders have recourse to such frivolous objections, and such glaring falsehoods. See *Pieces concernant la Mort du Prince Ivan.*

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was ever undaunted during trial; nor any malefactor ever met death with firmness and even indifference.

3. With respect to the third argument, which rests on the previous orders to the officers Vlasief and Tchekin, their execution of those orders, and promotion in consequence, I clearly and decisively reply, that such orders were not peculiar to the guards of Ivan; they are always given to those who are appointed to secure state-prisoners of any consequence in Russia. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, this precaution had always been taken; and the orders were renewed, whenever the persons entrusted with the care of Ivan were changed.

But, in support of this argument, it is further alleged, that the officers were too precipitate in dispatching the prince; they might have conveyed him to some place of greater security, when the conspirators had been repulsed in their first onset. But whither could they convey him? they could not conceal him in the fortress, or remove him from the island. There could be no apartment more secure than that in which he was confined; and even if they had attempted to remove him, the shortness of the interval between the first and second assault would have prevented them. The assailants instantly returned as soon as the forged order was read to them, and they returned



returned with a loaded cannon. It follows, therefore, that the officers and centinels found themselves incapable of resistance, and that Ivan must have fallen into the hands of Mirovitch; they had, therefore, no other alternative than to put him to death. Dreadful alternative indeed! but which they were obliged to embrace, for the preservation of the public tranquillity. If they performed their duty in this emergency; the approbation of their sovereign, and their subsequent promotion, were the natural, and, I even add, the just consequences.

But surely the whole conduct of Mirovitch, his association with Ushakof, their oath of fidelity, the violent manifesto against the empress, together with his treasonable intercourse with Cafatkin and Tchevaridsef, are evident proofs that his design was not feigned, that it originated from himself, and had been planned some time before an opportunity offered for its execution. To suppose that the empress had formed the project of destroying Ivan, that she employed Mirovitch as the instrument, that she secretly promised him his pardon, that she suffered him to go to the place of execution fully secure of a reprieve, that she there deceived him, that she punished his associates, of whose criminality she was herself the immediate cause, imply such an absurd complication of the basest fraud and hor-  
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rid barbarity, that we ought not to listen to the imputation, were it founded even on some degree of probable conjecture; whereas the arguments alleged amount only to mere surmises and vague suppositions; and are totally refuted by the most valid arguments and indisputable testimony.

I cannot close this history without annexing a short account of Ivan's family. His father Anthony Ulric was son of Ferdinand Albert, by Antonietta Amelia, sister of Charlotte Christina, who espoused the tzarovitch Alexèy. He was brother of Charles duke of Brunswick, and of that distinguished general prince Ferdinand. Anthony Ulric was born in 1714; in 1733 was betrothed, on his arrival at Peterburgh, to the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, the presumptive heiress of the Russian throne. He served in the campaign against the Turks, under general Munic, assisted at the siege of Otchakof, and was a true Brunswic for valour and spirit of enterprize. On the 14th of July 1739, his nuptials with the princess Anne were celebrated with great magnificence. On the day of that ceremony, “\* who would have imagined that their union would one day produce their greatest misfortune?” and that the prince was called into Russia, not to share a throne, but a prison, with his consort?

The mother of Ivan, Elizabeth Catharine

\* Manstein's Memoirs, p. 248.



Christina, was daughter of Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburgh, by Catharine Ivanofna; she was born in 1718, and in 1731 invited to Peterburgh by her aunt the empress Anne. Having embraced the Greek religion, she was re-baptized by the name of Anne, and espoused in 1739 Anthony Ulric. Soon after the birth of Ivan, she was not only excluded from the throne, but even from any share in the administration of affairs during her son's minority, by the intrigues of Biron, who, upon the accession of Ivan, was declared regent. Having, by the assistance of count Munic, arrested Biron, the princess Anne assumed the regency and title of great-duchess, and was on the point of declaring herself empress, when Elizabeth seized the reins of government.

Upon that revolution this illustrious couple were successively confined at Riga, Dunemund, and Oranienbaum: from thence they were removed to Solomonskoi Ostrof, an island in the White Sea, and, finally, to Kolmogori, a small town, situated in an island of the Dyvina, about 40 miles from Archangel. Anne had four children by her husband during their joint imprisonment, and died in child-bed at Kolmogori, in March 1746. Her body was brought to Petersburg, and buried in the church of the convent of St. Alexander Nevski.

Manstein

Manstein \* has well drawn the weak, capricious, and indecisive character of the regent Anne; who, with a moderate degree of firmness and prudence, might have defeated the designs of Elizabeth; but an anecdote, recorded by Busching, will perhaps display, in the strongest light, her mild and indolent character. During her confinement in the fortress of Riga, the prince of Brunswick frequently blamed her for having disregarded the information she daily received concerning the attempts of the opposite party: once in particular he vehemently reproached her for rejecting his advice to arrest Elizabeth, adding, "had that advice been followed, you and your family would not have been involved in your present misfortunes." "It may be so," returned the princess, with great indifference; "but I shall never repent of my conduct: and it is better as it is, than to have preserved our sovereignty by shedding a deluge of blood †."

Besides Ivan, she left four children, two sons, and as many daughters, who were confined with their father at Kolmogori.

Anthony Ulric died in 1776, in the 35th year of his imprisonment, and in the 63d of his age.

\* Mémoires, p. 316.

† Busf. Hist. Mag. vol. I. p. 32. Busching had this anecdote from a favourite maid of honour who attended the regent in her confinement.



He had been long afflicted with the gout, and a year before his death was totally blind.

The place of their confinement at Kolmogori was the bishop's antient palace and garden; separated on one side from the cathedral by a high wall, and on the other surrounded by palisadoes\*. Within the enclosure, near the entrance, was a barrack for the soldiers who guarded them, commanded by a lieutenant and three inferior officers. Another guard, commanded by lieutenant Karikin, was stationed in the episcopal palace, in which the illustrious prisoners were confined; these two guards had no communication with each other.

The governor of Archangel kept the keys of the gates, and without his permission no one, not even the physician, if they were indisposed, could venture to visit them. From the windows of their house they were able to descry, towards the south-east, a small turn of the river Dvina, and towards the south-west, the high road leading to St. Petersburg. They inhabited the apartments on the ground-floor, which lead by a small flight of steps into a garden, planted with a few birch, and containing a muddy fish-pond, surrounded with avenues of trees. In this fish-pond floated an old and crazy boat. They had the use of an

\* Busching's Hist. Mag. V. 22. p. 418.

old-fashioned coach, drawn by six horses, and attended by the soldiers, in which they could drive backwards and forwards along an alley about a quarter of a mile within the encloſure.

These illuſtrious priſoners, whoſe birth entitled them to a better fate, ſaw no other perſons but their attendants ; had no other amuſement than to play at whiſt or ombre, and dared not read any thing but books of prayer in the Ruſſian language.

Godevin, governor of Archangel, under whoſe inſpection they remained ſeventeen years, treated them with great neglect. He ſuffered the houſe and garden to fall into decay, furniſhed an indifferent table, and gave no account of the money allotted for their ſupport. But in 1779 they experienced a more favourable change of circumſtances. Melgunef being diſpatched by the empreſs to divide the province of Archangel into two governments, viſited the priſoners, and was moved with compaſſion at their forlorn ſituation. By his advice the youngſt princeſs Elizabeth wrote to the empreſs, in an artleſs and pathetic manner, and laid before her Maſteſty an account of their deplorable ſituation. Catharine, greatly affected at the peruſal, reſtored them to liberty, and placed them under the proteſtion of the queen-dowager of Denmark.

By



By her order, Melgunef prepared every thing for their departure; and, at two o'clock in the morning, on the 27th of June 1779, released them from the prison-house, and accompanied them to Archangel. On their arrival in the fortrefs, he informed them of the emprefs's gracious intentions to fend them into Denmark. This unexpected news at first filled them with apprehensions; they mistrusted some hidden danger, and expreffed a defire to remain at Kolmogori, with the enjoyment of more liberty. But when Melgunef affured them, in the ftrongeft terms, of the goodnefs of the emprefs, delivered to them a valuable prefent of clothes, plate, and diamonds, and informed them, that they would be placed under the protection of the queen-dowager of Denmark, their aunt; they burft into tears, and, falling upon their knees, expreffed the warmeft gratitude for this unexpected favour, and offered up prayers to Heaven for their kind benefaârefs.

On the 30th of June they went on board the frigate prepared for their voyage, fet fail on the following night, and, after a paffage of three months, and being expofed to a violent tempeft, reached Berghen, in Norway. There they embarked on board a Danifh vefſel, and landed at Flåtſtrand, on the coaſt of Jutland. Being conveyed to Aalberg, they remained five days with  
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the governor, count Osten\*, and from thence proceeded by easy journies, and fixed their residence at Horsens, a town of Jutland, situated at the extremity of a bay of the Baltic, a few miles from the frontiers of Sleswic.

In my second tour to the North, in 1784, I pursued my travels to Horsens, from a desire to pay my respects to these illustrious personages. On our arrival we waited on the principal officer attendant on the Russian princes, and requested to have the honour of being presented. We received a favourable answer; but when we expected our request to be complied with, we were put off with various excuses. We did not know, until we were informed by Mr. Guldberg, whom we had the honour of seeing at Aarhus, that by special orders from the court of Denmark no foreigners were presented to them. They were only accompanied by a Russian lady, and a priest and his wife. From their ignorance of any language but the Russian, and their inability to converse with most of those who were placed about them, on their first arrival at Horsens they appeared even to regret their prison at Kolmogori. But they were soon reconciled, and became quite delighted with the change in their situation.

\* I received these particulars from count Osten himself, whom I met at Copenhagen.



They are still a kind of state prisoners, though, in comparison with their former situation, they may be said to enjoy perfect liberty. They never go out without attendants, and have not yet been permitted to visit any family in the town. The gates of their house or palace, as it is called, are carefully closed in winter at ten, and in summer at eleven. They amuse themselves with reading, playing at billiards, cards, riding, and walking; they walk much about the town, and in the environs, and drive out in carriages. The princes often ride, particularly Alexèy, who is fond of that exercise, and is said to be expert. They not unfrequently pay visits in the country, and dine with the neighbouring families.

The names of these descendants of the imperial family, are, Catharine, born July 26, 1741, Peter, born March 31, 1745, Alexèy, born March 7, 1746, of whom Anne died in childhood. This prince is since dead. Elizabeth, the youngest sister, was a woman of high spirit and elegant manners. On being released, she wrote a letter of thanks to the empress, so well expressed, as to excite admiration. Her father is said to have instructed her; but she likewise obtained considerable information from several officers who were her guards, and whom she conciliated by her captivating manners. On her arrival at Horsens she possessed portraits

traits of her father and mother, and had even contrived to procure a rouble of her brother Ivan, struck in his short reign. She alone, of her brothers and sisters, could speak a little German, and served as an interpreter between them and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who more than once visited his nephews and nieces. She is reported to have died of chagrin; but, as far as I could collect, her death was occasioned by a violent fever, which was soon attended with a delirium, and hurried her to the grave on the sixteenth day of her illness.

But though we were unsuccessful in our attempt to be presented, we did not quit Horsens without seeing their persons; as on the day after our arrival there was a great fair, and many people were assembled in the market-place, the princes frequently appeared at the windows of their palace. The princess seemed pale and thin, the princes were about the middle size, fair complexioned, with strong features, light hair, and expressive eyes.

As I beheld these august descendants of the czar Ivan, I felt extreme satisfaction, in reflecting that they were enlarged from the precincts of a Russian prison; and admired the humanity and magnanimity of Catharine the Second, who, above the suspicions of state-jealousy, released from a long confinement persons whose parents



had died in prison, whose brother had once filled the Russian throne, and closed his unfortunate life by the hand of violence.

Having had frequent occasion to mention count Munic, I shall here throw together a few anecdotes of that extraordinary man, who enjoyed the favour of five sovereigns, who attained, at one period of his life, the highest honours, and at another was doomed to a rigorous confinement of twenty years, which he sustained with an unbroken spirit\*.

Count Burchard Christopher Munic, son of a Danish officer, was born at New-Huntorf, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th of May, 1683. He received an excellent education, and, in the 17th year of his age, entered into the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred on him the rank of captain. He served his first campaign in 1701, when the emperor Joseph commanded against the French; and was present at the siege of Landaw. In 1705 he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and improved himself in the art

\* I have chiefly extracted this account from the Life of Count Munic, by Busching, who was intimately acquainted with him; I have been enabled to add a few anecdotes, which I obtained from unquestionable authority. See *Lebens Geschichte Burchard Christophs von Muenich*. In *Bus. Hist. Mag.* III. p. 389 to 536.

of war under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. He distinguished himself for his cool intrepidity in several engagements and sieges, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompence for his bravery, he was made lieutenant-colonel. Being, in 1712, dangerously wounded at the battle of Denain, he was taken prisoner by the French, and soon after his release, in the ensuing year, raised to the command of a regiment.

In 1716 he quitted the Hessian, and entered the Polish service, under Augustus II. and was soon promoted to the rank of major-general; but, in 1721, being insulted by count Fleming, the king's favourite, he went into Russia, and was received in the most honourable manner by Peter. Being charged by that great monarch with the execution of several important trusts, both civil and military, he successively filled the highest posts in the army and state. He was created marshal by the empress Anne, and placed at the head of the war department; he obtained the command of the army against the Turks, and proved his military talents by his successes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738.

Soon after the death of the empress, he advised, planned, and executed the arrest of Biren, and was rewarded by the regent Anne with the



office of prime minister. But as he was discontented at not being appointed generalissimo, and as his power and ambition gave umbrage to the court, he requested permission to resign his employments, and was astonished at the readiness with which his request was granted. Instead of repairing to the Prussian court, to which he was strongly invited, he imprudently remained in Russia, flattering himself with the hopes of being re-instated in his former dignity, and was arrested on the 6th of December, 1741, by order of Elizabeth. The ostensible reason of his disgrace was, that he had persuaded the empress Anne to nominate Ivan her successor; but the real cause, as I was informed by a person of veracity, who received it from count Munic himself, was that, by order of that empress, he had taken into custody one of Elizabeth's favourites.

Munic was brought before a committee appointed to examine the state-prisoners. Being fatigued with repeated questions, and perceiving the determination of his judges to find him guilty, he said to them, "Dictate the answers which you wish me to make, and I will sign them." The judges immediately wrote down a confession of several charges, which being subscribed by Munic, his mock-trial was concluded.

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Being thus convicted of high treason, he was condemned to be quartered; but his sentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual imprisonment. For the space of twenty years, he was confined at Pelim in Siberia, in an ostrog, or prison, of which, according to Manstein, he had himself drawn the plan, for the reception of Biren. It was an area enclosed with high palisadoes, about 170 feet square; within which was a wooden house, inhabited by himself, his wife, and a few servants, and a small garden, which he cultivated with his own hands. He received a daily allowance of 12*s.* for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and domestics; which little pittance he increased by keeping cows, and selling part of their milk, and by occasionally instructing youth in geometry and engineering. He behaved, during his long confinement, with the utmost resignation, tranquillity, and even cheerfulness. He was accustomed every day at dinner to drink to his wife, "a happy return to Petersburg." He had prayers twice a day, from eleven to twelve in the morning, and from six to seven in the evening; they were read in the German tongue by his chaplain Martens, who dying in 1749, the count himself afterwards performed the service. Beside the culture of his garden, and the hours he passed in giving instruction, he found sufficient leisure for compos-



ing hymns; for translating several psalms and prayers into German verse; and for writing a treatise on the art of war, which he proposed, if released from his confinement, to present to the king of Prussia. In the last year of his imprisonment, a centinel informing against Munic's servants for supplying him with pens and paper, the count, in order to prevent discovery, was obliged to destroy all his writings, the amusement and labour of so many solitary years.

He had always supported himself with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the accession of Peter the Third; but he was no sooner informed of that event, than, with the agitation natural to a person in his state, he began to dread that his expectation was ill-founded. He suffered, during several weeks, the most alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuated between hope and fear, and often declared that these few weeks appeared to him much longer than all the former years of his confinement. At length, on the morning of the 11th of February, 1762, the long-expected messenger arrived from Petersburg with the order for his release. Munic, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him, and his wife made signs to the messenger not to disturb her husband. Being informed of his recall, he was so affected as to faint away; but soon recovering, he fell down upon his knees, and, in  
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the most fervent manner, offered up his thanks for this change in his situation. On the 19th he departed from Pelim, and, on the 24th of March, arrived at Peterburgh, in the same sheep-skin dress which he had worn in his prison. On the 31st he was admitted to an audience by the emperor\*: Peter, after hanging round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and restoring him to his antient rank, said to him, "I hope that your advanced age will still permit you to serve me."—"Since your majesty," replied the count at the conclusion of a long speech, "has raised me from darkness into light, and recalled me from Siberia to prostrate myself before your throne, I

\* An account of his first appearance at court is contained in a letter from Mr. Keith to the earl of Bute, dated, April 2/13, 1762.

" Marshal Munic was presented to the emperor last Sunday morning, and in the evening the duke of Courland and he appeared together at court with their ribbands, and were both treated by his Imperial majesty with great marks of distinction. It was really an affecting scene, to see those two respectable persons, after having survived so long a course of misfortunes, appear again, at their age, at a court where they had formerly made so great a figure, and to see them, that being their first interview, converse together with great civility, and without any appearance of that animosity and jealousy, which had drawn all their unhappiness upon them. The duke of Courland's two sons are both made major-generals, and count Munic is declared first veldt marshal, prince George of Holstein having, in a very handsome manner, quitted the *pas* to him. The emperor, to compliment him, gave for the *Parole* that evening, *Vive le premier veldt marshal de Russie*. The duke of Courland is in the 72d year of his age, and count Munic in the 79th of his.

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shall always be most willing to expose my life in your service. Neither a long banishment from the throne of majesty, nor the climate of Siberia, have been able to damp, in the smallest degree, that fire which formerly shone with such lustre for the interests of the Russian empire, and the glory of its sovereign."

Munic enjoyed the favour and protection of Peter and Catharine, and died on the 16th of October, 1767, in the 85th year of his age.

## CHAP. 3.

Impostors who assumed the name of Peter the Third, particularly Pugatchef.—His origin and history.—State of the Russian sectaries, and the mutiny of the Cossacs of Yaitsk favour his rebellion.—He assumes the character of Peter the Third.—Collects an irregular army.—His progress.—Barbarity.—Weakness and ill-conduct.—Repeated defeats, and escapes, subsequent appearance.—Finally routed.—Betrayed by his adherents.—Executed at Moscow.

**A**LTHOUGH the body of Peter III. was exposed to public view in the convent of Alexander Nevski; yet several impostors started up in the distant regions of the Russian empire, and passed for that unfortunate monarch.

The first was a shoe-maker of Voronetz, who appeared under the name of Peter, a few years before the rebellion of Pugatchef; but he was soon taken and executed.

The second was a deserter from the regiment of Orlof: his name was Tchernichef, and he rose in 1770, in the small village of Kopenka on the frontiers of Crim Tartary, as a corps of troops was marching through that place. Some dissenting priests, having suborned a number of followers, raised him upon the altar of the church, and were preparing to acknowledge him; but  
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the colonel of the regiment repairing to the church at the head of a strong guard, took him from the altar, and led him to immediate execution.

A third was a peasant belonging to the Vorontzof family, who deserting from his village, engaged as a common Cossack among those who are settled upon the Volga at Duboska. A body of these Cossacks marching in the spring of 1772 from Tzaritzin to join the Russian army, he assembled them in a small post-house, situated in the lonely desert between the Don and the Volga, and declared himself Peter the Third. Having persuaded them to salute him emperor, and take the oath of allegiance, he appointed several officers of state. A few hours after this transaction, the commander of the troop unexpectedly arriving, confounded the soldiers by his presence, seized the impostor by the hair, and with the assistance of the astonished Cossacks, bound and conducted him a prisoner to Tzaritzin. During his trial the inhabitants, excited by false reports of his followers, rose in his favour, and were not without great difficulty dispersed by the commander colonel Zipletof. The impostor being conveyed to an island of the Volga, was knotted to death.

About the same time a malefactor, who had been transported to Irkutsk, made a similar attempt,







*C. Ruolto sculpsit.*

## PUGATCHEF.

*Published according to Act of Parliament, Jan<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1784, by T. Cadell in the Strand.*



tempt, and even gained over an officer who had a pension from the crown; but his secret being discovered, he was also put to death.

Yemelka Pugatchef narrowly escaped the same fate at his first appearance. This extraordinary man, son of the Cossack Ivan Pugatchef, was born at Simoveisk, a village on the Don. He was a common Cossack in the war against the king of Prussia, and served likewise during the campaign of 1769 against the Turks. He was at the siege of Bender; and on the surrender of the town, demanded his dismissal, which being refused, he deserted and fled into Poland: he was there concealed by some hermits of the Greek religion, and afterwards supported himself by begging alms in the town of Dubranka. From thence he repaired to the colonies in Little Russia, and continued among the sectaries, who are there established in great numbers; but apprehensive of discovery, he went to the principal settlement of the Cossacks of the river Yaik\*, and persuaded several to accompany him to Kuban. Being arrested at Malekofka for treasonable conversation, he was sent for trial to Casan; where the indolence of the governor, and the delays in bringing him to justice, gave him an

\* In order to extinguish all remembrance of this rebellion, the river Yaik is now called Ural, Yaitsk, Uralisk, and the Cossacks of the Yaik, the Uralian Cossacks.

opportunity



opportunity of escaping with a priest, who privately furnished him with money for intoxicating the centinels. He then went down the Volga, and up the river Irghis into the desert; and not long afterwards appeared under the character of Peter, at the head of numerous insurgents. The peculiar circumstances which served to favour his enterprize were derived from the religious prejudices of the Russian dissenters, and the mutiny of the Cossacs of the Yaik.

The Russian dissenters, called by the established church *Roskolniki* or separatists, distinguish themselves by the name of *Staroveriski*, or old believers. These sectaries have been frequently persecuted, particularly under Peter I. who compelled them to pay double taxes, and wear a badge of distinction. Persecution, however, only tended to increase their numbers; and they are still numerous in Siberia, and among the Cossacs in the government of Orenburgh, where the rebellion of Pugatchef first broke out. They consider the service of the established church as profane and sacrilegious; they have their own priests and ceremonies; and Pugatchef artfully availed himself of their religious opinions, which he professed to espouse and protect.

The mutiny of a large body of Cossacs operated no less in favour of Pugatchef. The Cossacs of the Yaik, descended from those of the  
Don,

Don, are a valiant race, enthusiasts for the ancient ritual, and prizing their beards almost equal to their lives; they are rich from their considerable fisheries of sturgeons; they have also acquired a spirit of independence by being situated in a desert between the Calmucs and the Kirghese, who are continually at variance with each other, and often with the Cossacs themselves. During the war with the Turks in 1771, some recruits were required of these Cossacs for a corps of hussars; their beards were ordered to be shaven; and as they opposed this infringement of their liberties, major-general Traubenberg, a Livonian officer, who was sent at the head of a few soldiers to Yaitsk to quell the tumult, imprudently commanded the recruits to be publicly shaven in the midst of the town. The inhabitants, irritated by this wanton insult, rose in arms, wounded several officers, massacred the general and the chief of the Cossacs, and broke into open rebellion. In spring, general Freyman forced Yaitsk, captured several ringleaders of the mutiny, and garrisoned part of his troops in the town. Many of the rebels made their escape, and, retiring into the desert, chiefly resorted to the marshy grounds about the lake Kamysh-Samara; where they derived a subsistence from fishing, and shooting wild boars, and were supplied by their relations with bread  
and



and provisions. By these means this desperate troop supported themselves during the space of two years ; until Pugatchef made his appearance among them.

On his escape from prison, Pugatchef went secretly to Yaitsk about the middle of August, 1773 ; where he gained over a number of followers among the people, who were enraged against the garrison, and had shewn a strong disposition to revolt, when a report was circulated that a new emperor was coming amongst them ; a report probably occasioned by the first appearance of Pugatchef in these parts. Obtaining, at Yaitsk, intelligence of the late mutiny, he followed the deserters ; and having, in October, found a large body employed in fishing, informed them that he was the emperor, and had made his escape from prison, where persons were suborned to assassinate him ; he added, that the rumour of his death was only a fiction invented by the court, and that he now threw himself under their protection.

Pugatchef did not bear the smallest resemblance to Peter ; but founded his hopes of gaining belief on the distance from the capital, on the ignorance of the people, on their actual insurrection, and, above all, on their attachment to their religious prejudices. Few arguments being necessary to win over these Cossacs, already in a  
state

state of rebellion, they unanimously saluted him emperor, and offered to sacrifice their lives in his defence. With these, and other bodies of Cossacs, whom he found equally inclined to follow his standard, he made his first expedition to the new Polish colonies lately established on the river Irghis; where he gave no proof of his subsequent barbarity, despoiling the inhabitants of nothing but arms and horses. He then presented himself before Yaitsk; and after ineffectually summoning the governor to surrender, gave orders for an immediate assault. Being repulsed, by the intrepidity of the garrison, he blockaded the place with a view of reducing it by famine; but his attempt was frustrated by the resolution of the governor Rendsdorf, and the incredible perseverance of the garrison, who refused to capitulate, although they were so far streightened for want of provisions, as not only to eat their horses, but even to feed upon leather. This obstinate resistance protracted the siege, until Yaitsk was relieved.

Pugatchef, baffled in this enterprize, was more successful in his future operations: he led his followers against the Cossac colonies of Ilets, assaulted and carried, without opposition, the fortresses of Rasypnaya and Ofernaya, attacked Tatishcheva, where he met with greater resistance; but as the fortifications were only of wood, he



set fire to them, and forced the place. A body of troops sent against him from Orenburg, under colonel Bulof, partly through weakness, and partly through misconduct, was overpowered. Another corps, who, in order to join the former, marched from Simbirsk up the Samara, under the command of colonel Tchernichef, arrived too late. Deceived by parties of Pugatchef's followers, they were drawn into the defiles near Tchernoretchinsk, and so suddenly beset, that they were incapable of making resistance. In all these actions, the officers who fell into Pugatchef's hands, were indiscriminately massacred; and the common soldiers were either made prisoners, or joined the rebels. His army being considerably augmented by these successes, he ventured to besiege Orenburg, where the governor had not force sufficient to defend the fortifications; and the town would have been inevitably taken, had not the garrison of Krasnogorsk thrown themselves into the place by forcing their way through the besiegers.

The report of Pugatchef's progress being disseminated, the Baschkirs, a people unsettled under the Russian government, declared for the impostor, and joined him in large bodies: their example was followed by many Russian colonists, particularly by the peasants employed in the  
mines

mines and founderies of the Uralian mountains\*. These forces he either employed in the siege of Orenburg, before which town he spent part of the winter in acts of wantonness, drunkenness, and cruelty, or sent them to collect money from the founderies, and to cast copper guns, and balls. This winter he received a powerful reinforcement by the junction of 11,000 Calmuc horse from the neighbourhood of Staupopol, who revolted and killed their commander, brigadier Veghezak. Strengthened by these accessions, his troops roved over the whole mountainous district of Orenburg, where only the small town of Uphä made the least resistance. He was even advancing to Catharinenburgh, where he would have found copper coin to the value of £.200,000; but a delay, occasioned by a false report that a superior force was marching against him, fortunately afforded time to collect the soldiers stationed on the Siberian frontiers, and cover the place.

The people were so greatly attached to the cause of Pugatchef, that he never wanted provisions or forage. Colonel Michaelson, to whose spirit and activity the defeat of Pugatchef was principally owing, suddenly entering a large village at the head of his corps, the inhabitants, taking him for the impostor, flocked about his standard; and exclaimed, "We have long expected your majesty's presence as that of a

\* The Uralian mountains abound in copper mines.



god \*!" The colonel observed before each house a table spread with bread, milk, honey, and other provisions, for the purpose of regaling the followers of Pugatchef, which were unwillingly resigned to the imperial troops.

At first Pugatchef affected the appearance of uncommon sanctity: he frequently wore the episcopal dress, gave benedictions to the people, renounced all ambitious views for himself, and expressed a resolution that, as soon as he had raised his son the great-duke to the throne, he would again retire into the monastery, in which he had found an asylum. He was also active and enterprising, eager to signalize his arms, and ready to seize every advantage which the situation of the enemy presented; but incapable of supporting with equanimity his rapid successes, he began to consider all further dissimulation as unnecessary; and his natural temper broke out into the most unwarrantable excesses. He massacred, with the most savage barbarity, all the officers and nobles who were brought before him; and openly avowing an intention of exterminating the whole Russian nobility, he spared neither sex nor age. His conduct was as imprudent as it was barbarous. Though already married to Sophia, the daughter of a Cossack, by whom he had three children, he espoused a common woman of

\* This anecdote I had from colonel Michaelson himself.

Yaitsk, delayed his march against the enemy for the celebration of his nuptials, and exhibited continued scenes of intoxication and riot.

He was supported by no persons of rank or consequence; but, to impose upon his army, some of his most confidential adherents assumed the names of the principal Russian nobles, and wore the orders of knighthood. By a signal to his attendants, he ordered all the German officers who were brought into his presence, to be massacred, in order to prevent his ignorance of their language from being observed by his followers.

During these transactions, general Bibikof, advancing at the head of a very considerable army, detached his major-general, prince Peter Galitzin, against the rebels, who surprised Pugatchef with his whole force near Tatishcheva, and worsted him for the first \* time. He was closely pursued and overtaken by prince Galitzin near Kargula, upon the river Sakmara, about the distance of twelve miles from Orenburg; he was completely routed, his troops were dispersed,

\* This first defeat of Pugatchef himself in person happened on the 23d of March, but on the 22d, colonel Michaelson, with only 1,000 troops and six cannon, had routed his general, who called himself colonel Tchernichef, at the head of 16,000 men, and took 42 cannon and eight mortars. Pugatchef offered a reward of 100,000 roubles for the head of colonel Michaelson.



and he himself, with a few followers, narrowly escaped into the Uralian mountains. Notwithstanding this discomfiture, he collected his scattered men, and soon re-appeared with a formidable force on the East side of the mountains. He carried several small fortresses, and burnt Troitzk; but being attacked by lieutenant-general de Colm, was obliged to retreat a second time into the mountains.

Rendered desperate by these repeated defeats, and desirous of again signalizing his arms by some brilliant exploit, he suddenly directed his march towards Casan, committing in his progress the most dreadful devastations. Having burnt the suburbs, he laid siege to the citadel, whither major-general Paul Potemkin the governor, and all his attendants, had retired. Forced to raise the siege, by the approach of colonel Michaelson, at the head of only 1,200 troops, he was routed near Casan, after several obstinate engagements, which continued with little interruption during three days. In these engagements 6,000 were taken prisoners, and so many killed, that the peasants employed six days in burying the dead; and Pugatchef, accompanied only by three hundred well-armed Cossacs of Yaitsk, who were the most desperate rebels, fled across the Volga. But he was afterwards joined by large bodies of Cossacs and Bashkirs; while

while ill-armed peasants flocked to his standard from considerable distances. In this manner the impostor seemed to gain strength from his losses; and derived such delusive hopes from the number of his troops, which occasionally amounted to 70,000 men, that he even formed the resolution of proceeding to Moscow, where one of his emissaries had raised a spirit of sedition among the common people. But apprehensive, lest, as peace was concluded with the Turks, part of the army on the Danube might be employed against him, he changed his plan of operations.

He marched down the Volga, routed at Dubofka a party under the command of Baron Dies, stormed Penza and Saratof, where the governor escaped only with fifty soldiers, obtained possession of Demitreffk by treachery, and executed the commander. Near that fortress, the astronomer Lowitz, who was employed in levelling the projected canal between the Don and Volga, was murdered in a most inhuman manner. In this instance, insult was added to cruelty; being informed that he was an astronomer, Pugatchef wantonly ordered him to be transfixed upon pikes, and raised in the air, that he might be nearer the stars; and in that situation ordered him to be massacred.

But the enormities of this monster were soon closed by a fate which he had long deserved.



The court, no longer embarrassed with a Turkish war, was able to turn its whole attention towards crushing this distant rebellion; and count Peter Panin, who had distinguished himself by the capture of Bender, was sent against the impostor. Panin moving towards the Volga, detached several troops to the assistance of colonel Michaelson, who compelled Pugatchef to raise the siege of Tzaritzin, drove him towards Tchernoyarsk, cut off his provisions, and finally attacked him unawares as he was marching with his half-starved multitude, embarrassed with a large train of loaded carriages and women. The rebel army, surprized in a defile between two ridges of mountains, which run towards the Volga, was entirely routed; many were cut to pieces; more, endeavouring to escape, were forced down the steep precipices with their horses and carriages, and the greater part of the remainder surrendered at discretion. Pugatchef, after many desperate efforts of valour, escaped, with a few of his principal followers, by swimming across the Volga, and retired through the desert towards the river Ufem, where he began his expedition. Here he was gradually deserted by his followers, who were worn out with misery and hunger, and was at last betrayed by those in whom he placed the greatest confidence. Tyogorof, a Cossack of Iletz, and Tchumakef and Fidulef,

Fidulef, Cossacs of Yaitsk, were induced by the promise of a pardon to betray him. One of them represented to the impostor, that surrounded as he was by the enemy, he could entertain no hopes of safety; and advised him to resign himself into the hands of the Russians, on condition of pardon. Pugatchef, enraged at this proposal, drew his dagger, and attempted to stab the author of such dastardly advice; but his companions instantly disarmed, bound, and conducted him prisoner to a corps of troops posted on the river Yaik under the command of general Suvarof\*.

He

\* This was the celebrated general, who has since been so justly distinguished for his military exploits.

Alexander Vasilievitch Suvarof, descended from a Swedish family ennobled in Russia, was born in 1730, and at the age of twelve enrolled in the Russian army. He made his first campaign against the Prussians in 1759; became brigadier in 1768, and first distinguished himself as a general against the confederates in Poland, in 1771, when he obtained the order of St. Alexander Nevski for his military services.

He afterwards signalized himself on various occasions, too numerous to be repeated, and closed his military career by his astonishing campaign against the French in Italy, and his no less astonishing retreat over the Alps of Switzerland.

Several accounts of his life and character have been already given to the public; and I am happy to have it in my power to add some authentic anecdotes of his disgrace and death.

After the unfortunate battle of Zurich, Suvarof was seized with a dangerous illness, probably occasioned by the violent fatigue he had undergone in his passage through Switzerland. The news of his indisposition had no sooner reached Petersburg, than a physician



He was conveyed to Yaitfk, and delivered to count Panin at Simbirfk, who sent him, with his principal

cian (Dr. Vischart) was dispatched to attend him; orders for his return were at the same time forwarded; and it was signified to him, that apartments were prepared in the palace for his reception, and that he was to receive the same honours as the imperial family.

Suvarof suspecting the intention of the emperor to secede from the alliance, pleaded ill-health to remain at his post, and represented, in strong terms, the necessity of an immediate re-inforcement. These representations ill accorded with the views of Paul, who had conceived a violent disgust against the House of Austria. Orders being again dispatched to Suvarof to return, he repeated his remonstrances; but at length commenced his march, moving by slow stages, and fixed his winter quarters in Bohemia. At last a courier from St. Petersburg arrived with positive commands to return to Russia without delay; and acquainted him, in terms strongly marking the high displeasure of the sovereign, that the apartments destined for him in the palace were already disposed of, and that his presence was not necessary in the capital.

From this moment his intellects were sensibly affected. Notwithstanding the efforts of his physician, he persisted in travelling incessantly, and on the days in which his fever intermitted, underwent such fatigue as those in health could not bear without inconvenience.

At length reaching Petersburg, he was obliged to take refuge in a small house situated in an obscure quarter of the town, and belonging to a distant relation, of the name of Quastof. On the night of his arrival, according to the information of a person who saw him, his appearance was humiliating and affecting; he was wan and emaciated, more resembling a corpse than an animated being; his intellects were disordered, but his understanding returned at intervals, and he occasionally recollected, and spoke affectionately to many of those who were present.

The medicines which were administered, and the repose which he

principal associates to Moscow; where he arrived in the month of November 1774. On his

he enjoyed after his fatiguing journey, restored his faculties, and he gave a proof of the singularity of his disposition, and the independence of his spirit, by the manner in which he received a message from the emperor Paul two days after his arrival, sent his favourite and prime minister count Rastofsin, (who had been formerly a subaltern in his regiment) to inquire after his health. He affected to disbelieve that Rastofsin was prime minister, because he appeared in the new military costume, and when his quality was repeatedly declared, at length pretended to apologize; and said he had mistaken him from his jack-boots for an officer of the police. In the course of the conversation, he suddenly apostrophised the minister by his christian name, and said, surely you were an under officer in my regiment. Rastofsin replying in the affirmative, Suvarof exclaimed, "happy Russia! whose ministers are drawn from every station. In other countries, indeed, the employments of state are filled by those who have been bred up in the details of office, and grown grey in the service. But Russia is above these antiquated prejudices!"

A person who visited him two days before his death, found him totally childish; he amused himself with giving away estates which he did not possess, as well as in making imaginary gifts of Persian horses, and rich furs, which those to whom he distributed his largesses pretended to receive with great acknowledgments of his liberality.

In this melancholy state, he continued till the hour of his death, which happened on the 18th of May. His body was laid in state in the house where he died, and the room was so small as scarcely to admit sufficient space for the canopy, and for the numerous cushions on which his different orders of knighthood were placed. All ranks of people crowded to visit his remains, and the enthusiastic attachment of the Russians to their general was as great at this period, as in the midst of his victorious career, notwithstanding the disapprobation of the sovereign.

The



his examination, he acknowledged all the circumstances of his imposture, and was publicly beheaded in the city of Moscow, on the 21st of January. His body was then quartered, and exposed in different places.

The indignation of the emperor, which had been first excited by his bitter sarcasms against the new military system, and his delays in marching back his troops, was increased by his treatment of Rastoffin, and survived his decease. The funeral of Sava of completed his singular and unmerited disgrace: after having been honoured by every distinction a sovereign could bestow, after being prayed for in the chapel of the court, together with the imperial family, after being made a prince of the empire, and generalissimo of all the forces, a rank equal to that possessed by the emperor himself, and after having conducted a brilliant and victorious campaign, he was buried without common military honours. A few soldiers from a marching regiment attended the procession instead of the battalions of guards; no artillery was allowed excepting some small pieces of cannon, which seemed to burlesque instead of adding dignity to the ceremony, and even the caparisoned horse was forbidden to be led. The populace felt and displayed their indignation at this insulting and studied disrespect; but the vigilance of the police obliged them to murmur in secret, and in a short time all seemed to have been forgotten, excepting by those who were able to appreciate the merit of Suvarof.

The resentment of the emperor did not confine itself to the remains of the deceased hero, but extended to his family. His son, who in consideration of his father's services, had been suddenly raised to the rank of major-general, was totally deprived of his military character, and reduced to the post of chamberlain, which he held before his elevation, and his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Courland was broken off, by the interference of the court.

It appears from recent accounts, that the emperor Alexander has attempted to compensate for the neglect of Paul, by erecting the statue of Suvarof in the imperial garden at Petersburg.

Nothing

Nothing can place the humanity of the empress in a stronger light, than that, at the conclusion of a rebellion which almost shook her throne, the impostor Pugatchef was not put to the torture \*; and that only he and four of his principal confederates suffered death.

\* When I visited the prison of Moscow, I saw several horrid instruments, which had been made to torture Pugatchef, but which, by the empress's positive orders, were not used. L'Evesque, who is seldom mistaken, is therefore wrong, in asserting that he was racked to death. "*Il perit du supplice de la roue.*" Vol. V. p. 143.



## C H A P. 4.

Description of the knoot.—Penal laws of Russia—Abolition of capital punishments by the edict of Elizabeth.—Remarks on that edict.—Abolition of torture by the present empress.—Her majesty's answer to the author's queries on prisons.—Outlines of the new regulations.—Their excellence and beneficial tendency.

ONE morning, as I strolled through the streets of Petersburg, near the market-place, I observed a large crowd of people, and on inquiring the cause of this concourse, was informed, that the multitude was assembled to see a felon, who had been convicted of murder, receive the knoot. Although I naturally shuddered at the idea of being a spectator of the agonies of a fellow-creature, yet curiosity overcame my feelings. I penetrated through the croud, and ascended the roof of a wooden house; from whence I had a distinct view of the dreadful operation. The executioner held in his hand the knoot\*: this instrument is a hard thong,

\* The following are the exact dimensions and weight of a knoot, which I procured in Russia, and which is now in my possession.

Length of the thong 2 feet; breadth of the top  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch; at the bottom  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—Thickness  $\frac{1}{8}$ .—Length of the platted whip 2 feet.—

Circumference

thong, about the thickness of a crown-piece, and three quarters of an inch broad, and tied to a thick plaited whip, which is connected, by means of an iron ring, with a small piece of leather fastened to a short wooden handle.

The executioner, before every stroke, receded, and at the same time drew back the hand which held the knoot; then, bounding forwards, he struck the flat end of the thong on the naked back of the criminal in a perpendicular line, reaching six or seven inches from the collar towards the waist. He began with the right shoulder, and continued his strokes parallel to each other quite to the left shoulder; nor ceased till he had inflicted 333 lashes, the number prescribed by the sentence. At the conclusion of this terrible operation, the nostrils of the criminal were torn with pincers, his face was marked with a hot iron, and he was re-conducted to prison, in order to be transported to the mines of Nerzhinsk in Siberia.

As several authors have erroneously described

Circumference of ditto  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.—Diameter of the ring 1 inch and  $\frac{5}{8}$ .—Length of the leather spring 1 inch and  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—Length of the handle 1 foot  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.—Length of the whole 5 feet 5 inches and  $\frac{5}{8}$ .—Weight 11 ounces.

The reader will judge of the great force which the skilful executioner can give to this instrument, when informed, that if he receives a private order, he can dispatch the criminal by striking him two or three blows upon the ribs.

the



the punishment of the knoot, I have been thus particular in relating what fell under my observation; and I shall take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the penal laws of Russia.

By the antient statutes, felons, as well as traitors, were publicly executed; but by an edict of Elizabeth, corporal penalties were, except in some cases of high treason, substituted in the room of capital sentences; a circumstance peculiar to the Russian code.

According to the present penal laws, offenders are punished in the following manner. Persons convicted of high treason are either beheaded or imprisoned for life. Felons, after receiving the knoot, having their nostrils torn and their faces marked, are condemned for life to work in the mines of Nerzhinsk. Petty offenders are either whipped \*, transported into Siberia as colonists, or sentenced to hard labour for a stated period. Among the colonists are included peasants, who may be arbitrarily consigned by their masters to banishment †.

All these persons are transported in spring and autumn from different parts of the Russian do-

\* There are three instruments for whipping in Russia: the knoot, the katze, and the plett, both of which latter are a kind of cat-o'-nine-tails.

† Their masters are empowered to inflict this punishment, only assigning the offence.

minions. They travel partly by water and partly by land, are chained in pairs, and fastened to a long rope. When the whole troop arrives at Tobolsk, the governor assigns the colonists who are versed in handicraft trades, to different masters in the town; others he disposes as vassals in the neighbouring country. The remainder of the colonists proceed to Irkutsk, where they are distributed by the governor in the same manner. The felons are then conveyed to the district of Nerzhinsk, where they are condemned to work in the silver mines, or at the different forges.

Travellers, who visited Russia before the reign of Elizabeth, uniformly concurred in relating the various modes of public executions, and in reprobating the severity of the criminal laws. But though we may join with every friend to humanity in rejoicing that many of these dreadful punishments no longer exist; yet we cannot assent to the high encomiums passed on the superior excellence of the penal code since the edict of Elizabeth, which is supposed to have totally annulled capital condemnations.

From this suppression of capital punishment in all instances excepting treason, Elizabeth has been represented, not only by the lively Voltaire, but even by the sagacious Blackstone \*, as a  
pattern

\* Voltaire thus expresses himself upon this edict. “ *L’Impératrice Elizabeth a achevé, par la clémence, l’ouvrage que son père com-*



pattern of legislative clemency. Though the infliction of death for offences, which ought not to

*mença par les loix. Cette indulgence a été même poussée à un point, dont il n'y a point d'exemple dans l'histoire d'aucun peuple. Elle a promis, que pendant son regne personne ne serait puni de mort, & a tenu sa promesse. Elle est la première souveraine qui ait ainsi respecté la vie des hommes. Les malfaiteurs ont été condamnés aux mines aux travaux publics: leurs châtimens sont devenus utiles à l'état; institution non moins sage que humaine. Partout ailleurs on ne fait que tuer un criminel, avec appareil, sans avoir jamais empêché les crimes. La terreur de la mort fait moins d'impression peut-être sur des méchants pour la plupart fainéants, que la crainte d'un châtiment & d'un travail pénible qui renaissent tous les jours.* Hist. de Russie, p. 120.

Sir William Blackstone makes the following remark upon the same prohibition.

“Was the vast territory of all the Russias worse regulated under the late empress Elizabeth, than under her more sanguinary predecessors? Is it now, under Catharine II. less civilized; less social, less secure? And yet we are assured, that neither of these illustrious princesses have, throughout their whole administration, inflicted the penalty of death; and the latter has, upon full persuasion of its being useless, nay, even pernicious, given orders for abolishing it entirely throughout her extensive dominions.” Commentaries, vol. IV. p. 10.

And lately, L'Evesque, “Les grands crimes ont commencé à devenir plus rares sous ce regne, où personne n'a été puni de mort.” Hist. de Russie, Tom. V. p. 92.

Voltaire assigns, as the grounds of his encomium on Elizabeth's suppression of capital punishment, two reasons: 1. The permanent chastisement which entails on the offender a long continuance of hardships and misery, has a greater effect on the multitude, than the summary pangs of death. 2. The preservation of malefactors is subservient to public emolument. 1. On the first reason I shall briefly remark, that the horror of dissolution has been repeatedly observed in the generality of mankind to preponderate beyond any other terrors; and if we could devise a punishment more terrible than

to be capital, is too frequent in many countries ; yet Elizabeth's modification of the criminal laws

than death, this new punishment, in order to work its effect upon vulgar minds, ought to be inflicted within the reach of vulgar observation, and not in the remote region of Siberia. For can we suppose that the lower class of mankind, who are governed by their senses, receive any strong impression from the casual report of sufferings endured at a great distance? 2. Voltaire's second reason for his applause of Elizabeth's edict, namely, the profit which the community derives from the labour of a malefactor whose life is spared, will hardly be allowed to hold good in regard to murderers: for if capital punishments be really the most efficacious prevention of crimes, they will necessarily form a stronger bulwark round the lives of orderly citizens than any other penalties. The legislator, therefore, who subverts this security with a view to the emolument of the state, actually revives the old barbarous custom of weighing the life of man in a scale against pecuniary advantage, with this material difference, however, in favour of that barbarous custom, that the latter assigned the price of blood to the relations of the person whose blood had been shed, and who had a more immediate claim, than the community at large, on any compensation made by the offender.

Judge Blackstone intimates his doubts concerning the superior efficacy of capital punishments over other penalties in the shape of a query. Was the vast territories, &c. But no reader can perhaps answer this question in the negative; nor could the sagacious author himself have answered it in the affirmative. For can it be decisively determined, except by a collection and comparison, during a long series of years, of felonies respectively committed under the two different modes of jurisprudence? and judge Blackstone does not pretend to have formed his theory on this ground. But after all, this reasoning supposes a fact which in reality does not exist, that no criminal has suffered capitally since the accession of Elizabeth; the fallacy of which assertion is, I flatter myself, abundantly proved in the text.



laws is perhaps no less exceptionable, in point of policy and expedience, than illusive, in regard to its supposed lenity.

For should we even erroneously imagine, with some authors, that the edict has been literally obeyed, and that, during the space of forty years, *not one criminal suffered death* throughout the vast empire of Russia; surely this lenity to the most atrocious crimes must be considered as extremely injurious to society. As a denunciation of death is to the generality of mankind, the most formidable prevention of crimes, the removal of this salutary terror withdraws a material safeguard from the lives and property of worthy citizens, and diminishes that security which they have a right to claim from the protection of the laws.

The most benevolent person will probably entertain no extraordinary veneration for this boasted abolition of capital punishment, when he reflects, that though the criminal laws of Russia do not *literally* sentence malefactors to death, they still consign many to that doom through the me-

I entered Russia fully prejudiced in favour of the notion, that no persons were ever punished with death. I was first undeceived by a foreign gentleman, to whom I addressed the question, Whether there were any capital executions in Russia? "Malefactors, indeed," he returned, "are not beheaded or hanged? but are not unfrequently knotted to death."

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dium of punishments, in some circumstances, almost assuredly, if not professedly, fatal, which mock with the hopes of life, but in reality protract the horrors of death, and embitter with delay an event which reason and humanity wish to be instantaneous. For when we consider that many felons expire under the infliction, or from the consequences of the knout; that several are exhausted by the fatigue of the long journey to Nerzhinsk \*, and that the forlorn remnant perish in general prematurely from the unwholesomeness of the mines, it will be difficult to view the doom of these unhappy outcasts in any other light than that of a lingering execution. In effect, since the promulgation of the edict, a year has never passed in which many atrocious criminals, though legally condemned to other penalties, have not suffered death. And indeed, upon a general calculation, perhaps it will be found, that notwithstanding the apparent mildness of the penal code, not fewer malefactors suffer death in Russia, than in those countries wherein that mode of punishment is appointed by the laws. It is therefore evident, that capital penalties are virtually retained, although the chief utility resulting from the terror of death is considerably diminished.

\* 4776 miles from Petersburg.



The panegyrist of Elizabeth would have entertained some doubts concerning her boasted clemency, had they recollected that she still retained a horrid process for the purpose of extorting confession from persons charged with treasonable designs. The arms of the suspected person being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up to a considerable height; from whence, being suddenly precipitated and suddenly checked, the violence of the concussion dislocated his shoulders, and in that deplorable situation he underwent the knout. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and despotism, Elizabeth gave unlimited scope: during her whole reign, it was applied even at the discretion of inferior and ignorant magistrates, and was not abolished until the accession of Catharine, who has prohibited the use of torture.

Although the sovereign is absolute in the most unlimited sense of the word; yet the prejudice of the Russians in regard to the necessity of torture (and a wise legislator will always respect popular prejudices, however absurd) was so deeply rooted by immemorial usage, that it required great circumspection not to raise discontents by an immediate abolition of that inhuman practice. Accordingly, the cautious manner in which it was gradually suppressed, discovered as much judgment as benevolence. In 1762, Catharine took  
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away the power of inflicting torture from the vayvodes, or inferior justices, by whom it had been shamefully abused. In 1767, a secret order was issued to the judges, that whenever they should think torture requisite to force confession, they should lay the general articles of the charge before the governor of the province for his consideration; and all the governors had received previous directions to determine the case according to the principles laid down in the third \* question of the tenth chapter of instructions for a code of laws; wherein torture is proved to be no less useless than cruel. This, therefore, was a tacit abolition of torture, which has been since formally and publicly annulled. The prohibition of this horrid species of judicature, throughout the Russian empire, forms a memorable æra in the annals of humanity.

At Moscow and Peterburgh I visited the prisons, of which I have given an account in a former publication †. In this place I shall only remark in general, that the empress, informed of my researches in relation to prisons, with a condescension peculiar to her character, permitted me to deliver to count Ivan Tchernichef, vice-president of the admiralty, a list of queries, on

\* Question III. “*La question ne blesse-t-elle pas la justice, et conduit-elle au but, &c.*” See Instructions de Catharine II. &c. p. 51 to 55.

† Account of the prisons and hospitals in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.



some of which I received information, by her orders, from her best-informed governors \*, and others she even condescended to answer herself. Her answers I shall here subjoin, with a full conviction, that observations even of less moment would be rendered acceptable by the authority of so distinguished a character.

*Queries upon the Russian prisons, delivered to the empress.*

*Answers dictated by the empress to her secretary, and sent to the author.*

1. *Is there any general plan for the construction of prisons, and their interior distribution? and are they usually situated in the suburbs, and near the running water?*

“1. There has been hitherto no general plan for the construction of prison, nor rules for their distribution and situation.

2. *What precautions are taken, in order to keep the prisons clean, and to prevent epidemical distempers?*

“2. There is no more regulation for the cleanliness of the prisons, than for their construction and situation. By an abuse favourable to

\* I have made use of these papers in the treatise mentioned in the last note.

the prisoners, they are in many places permitted to go to the baths. It is probable that the cold alone prevents epidemical disorders.

3. *Is there a separate infirmary for the sick?*

“ 3. Not every where.

4. *Are petty offenders kept apart from the felons, and are the felons also separated from each other?*

“ 4. Although it is prescribed by the ancient laws that a felon, sentenced to death, shall be kept in a separate room, called the chamber of repentance, nevertheless, there are no where chambers of that description.

5. *Are the prisoners permitted to purchase spirituous liquors, and do the jailors sell them?*

5. Every species of food is sold in the prisons, but the jailor cannot sell spirituous liquors, and that for two reasons: First, because spirituous liquors can only be sold by those who farm the right of vending them from the crown. Secondly, which

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is very extraordinary, there are no jailors \* to any of the prisons, although the laws make mention of them.

6. *Are female criminals put in irons ?*

“ 6. The laws are silent upon this head. So that whenever this custom is practised, it must be reckoned among those innumerable abuses which ought to be abolished †.

7. *Is the fate of criminals condemned to hard labour ever mitigated in case of reformation ? Do they wear any badge of infamy, and is it taken away upon good behaviour ?*

“ 7. Criminals condemned to public labour are transported : for murder they are branded in the face with a hot iron, &c. some are chained, others have their nostrils torn, and, unless upon a general or particular

\* The prisoners are guarded by foldiers.

† The original passage, which is in the French language, does not admit of a literal translation :

“ *Les loix passent sous silence ce point : ainsi ce que pourroit se faire à cet égard peut être compté parmi l'inombrable quantité des abus. Ces abus sont pour la plupart autant de cloux qu'il faut tirer du corps politique de l'état où on les trouve.*”

amnesty, they receive no mitigation.

8. *Are there fixed times and places in the several provinces for the trial of criminals?*

“ 8. The laws settled indeed certain times for this purpose; but, as a great number of different affairs and trials were decided in the same tribunal, the courts of criminal justice were very dilatory in their proceedings.

“ See the manifesto of 1775, at the head of the Regulations,\* &c.”

“ New Plan for the Russian prisons, to be introduced into each government.

“ 1. To divide the prisons into civil and criminal. 2. The criminal prison shall be distributed into three parts. The first, for criminals before and during trial; the second, for persons sentenced to confinement for a stated time; and the third, for felons capitally convicted, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or to the public works. 3. Each part shall be separate, one for the men, the other for the women.

\* Réglements de sa maj. imp. pour l'administration des Gouvernemens, &c.

4. There



4. There shall be an infirmary for sick prisoners.
5. The prison shall be constructed without the town, in an airy situation, and near the water."

It cannot be otherwise than a subject of pleasing reflection, that this great princess thus condescends to contemplate and alleviate the sufferings of even the wretched victims to public justice; but how much more will our veneration be encreased, when we consider her as erecting the glorious superstructure of national happiness on the firm basis of equal legislation?

The empress, at her accession, found the Russian code of laws a rude and indigested chaos, and saw the immediate necessity of reformation. The courts of justice were regulated by the statutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch\*, extremely defective both as to order and precision; and by the *ukases* or imperial mandates issued by Peter

\* The earliest regular code of written laws was formed, in 1542, by Ivan Vassilievitch II. from precedents and antient customs. The statutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch, alluded to in the text, were chiefly composed from the above-mentioned code, from the mandates of the sovereigns subsequent to Ivan Vassilievitch II. from the decisions of the boiars, who in those times presided in the high courts of justice, and from the Byzantine laws or edicts issued by the Greek emperors of Constantinople. The new statutes, compiled from these sources, with a few editions, being in 1650 read in the tzar's presence, were printed, and a copy sent into each province.

See Statuta Moschovitica in Herbersteini Itin. in Moschoviam; also Von Justiz-Wesen in Haygold's Beylagen, p. 379.

and his successors, uncommonly numerous, and in many important points contradictory to each other.

The vast empire of Russia was distributed into a few extensive governments; each government was subdivided into provinces, and each province into districts, or circles. Over each government was a governor, over the provinces a wayvode and his officers, who formed a chancery; over the districts an inferior wayvode, or justice of peace. The abuses resulting from this distribution are sufficiently detailed in a passage, from the manifesto of the empress prefixed to the first part of the new code \* :

“ We find that many governments are not sufficiently provided with tribunals or officers of justice, in proportion to their extent; that not only the affairs of the treasury and police, but also civil and criminal causes are tried in the same court in which the administration of government is carried on. Nor are the provinces and districts less subject to similar inconveniences; as the sole chancery of the wayvode is the only court which has cognizance of so many and such different affairs. The disorders resulting from these circumstances are but too evident. On one side delays, omissions, and vexations, are the natural consequences of so incongruous and

\* *Reglements de Catharine II. &c. p. VII.*

defective



defective a constitution ; where one business impedes another ; and where the impossibility of terminating matters so various in the sole chancery of the wayvode occasions procrastination, neglect of duty, and admits only a partial dispatch of business. On the other side, these delays generate chicanery, and encourage the commission of crimes ; because the punishment does not follow the transgression of the laws with that celerity which is necessary to repress and strike terror into offenders ; while endless appeals from one court to another are perpetual obstructions to justice.”

But the greatest evil to the lower class of people arose from the enormous authority of the inferior wayvode, who, though usually a person of low birth, and totally ignorant of the laws, yet could not only impose punishment for petty offences, but had even the power of ordering the knout, inflicting torture, and transporting to Siberia. Hence persons suspected of crimes were detained in prison several years without being brought to a final trial, were tortured without sufficient proof, and frequently more than once.

Many sovereigns since Alexèy Michaelovitch, particularly Peter I. framed projects for amending the Russian jurisprudence, but never carried it into execution. The completion of this arduous undertaking was reserved for Catharine

tharine II; who, in 1767, summoned deputies to Moscow from every part of her extensive dominions, and having appointed commissioners for composing a new code of laws, delivered to them her Grand Instructions\*, written by her imperial majesty in the true spirit of genuine legislation. In conformity to these instructions, the first part of a new code appeared in 1775, and a second part in 1780, and it has been received in many of the new governments into which the Russian empire is divided. Many abuses have been removed by these new institutions; and many still existing are to be abolished.

Though an ample detail of these regulations falls not within the compass of the present work; it is to be hoped that the curiosity of the public will be in some measure gratified by enumerating the most striking peculiarities in this extensive plan, which has modified the whole system of government.

The empire, divided by Peter the Great into

\* “Instructions de Catharine II. pour la Commission chargée de dresser le Projet d’un Nouveau Code de Loix.” St. Pet. 1769. These instructions have been translated into most modern languages, and into English by Tatishchev, a Russian gentleman, to which is prefixed, a description of the manner of opening the commission, with the order and rules for electing the commissioners appointed to frame a new code of laws. See The Grand Instructions, &c. printed by Jefferys.



nine extensive governments, is now distributed into a larger number \*, each upon an average containing only from 3 to 400,000 males. One or more of these governments is superintended by a *Namestnick*, or lord-lieutenant, and each has a vice-governor, a council, civil and criminal courts of judicature, some of whose members are appointed by the sovereign, and the others chosen by the nobles. By this institution Catharine has, in some instances, circumscribed her prerogative, by diminishing the power of those tribunals which were only dependent upon the crown, or transferring it to the nobles, and investing them with many additional privileges with respect to the administration of justice. By introducing likewise into each government superior tribunals, whose decision is final, she has prevented frequent appeals to the imperial colleges at Petersburg and Moscow, which were attended with considerable expence and delay. By establishing or separating the different boards of finance, police, &c. from the courts of law, which before impeded each other by meeting in

\* The first provinces erected into governments, according to the new institution, were Tver and Smolensko, in January 1776. Those which have been since established, either before or during my residence in Russia, were in the following order: Novogorod and Kaluga, in December 1776; Plescof, Yaroslaf, and Tula, in December 1777; Polotfk and Mohilef, in May 1778; Refan, Volodimir, Kostroma, and Orel, in December 1778. See a list of the governments, Book VI. Ch. i. p. 339.

the same place, she has facilitated the dispatch of business, and rendered the administration of justice more speedy. She has increased the salaries of the judges, who, from the narrowness of their income, were exposed to almost irresistible temptations from bribery; or, to use her own expressions to the judges, in her celebrated edict, “Formerly your necessities might have induced you to be too attentive to your own interests: your country now pays your labours, and what before might admit of some excuse, from this moment becomes a crime.”

To these regulations must be added the abolition of torture; the establishment of proper boundaries between the governments, which has prevented many dissensions and law-suits; the appointment of regular physicians and surgeons, in various districts, at the expence of the crown; the foundation of schools, and the establishment of new seminaries for those intended for holy orders; the erection of new bodies corporate with additional immunities; the grant of freedom to numberless vassals of the crown; and the means taken to facilitate the emancipation of the peasants. But of all the plans, none is more useful and praise-worthy than the establishment of schools in every government, formed on the most comprehensive scale and liberal principles.

An academy is established at St. Peterburgh



for the instruction of 200 students, designed to be masters of the provincial schools. It is provided with professors of history, mathematics, rhetoric, and natural history; with a German master, and a drawing master. The students are selected from the different seminaries of the Russian empire, and, as they have received their education as priests of the regular clergy, understand Latin. They are twenty years of age, and are to remain at Petersburg three years; during which period they are instructed in history, geography, the various branches of natural philosophy, and natural history. They are all boarded, lodged, and instructed at the empress's expence. At the conclusion of this term their places are to be supplied by others, and they will be distributed in the different parts of Russia. Two of these students will be established in the principal town of each government; one as teacher of mathematics, the other of history, geography, and natural history. Each student, thus established, is to instruct other students as preceptors of the smaller schools in the lesser towns. The regulation of this useful establishment is entrusted to a committee consisting of five members, who have the superintendence of the whole.

Thus the great schools in the principal towns will depend on the academy of Petersburg,

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and

and each school in the smaller towns on the principal school in each government; a scheme which, if carried into execution, will effectually promote the interior civilization of this vast empire.

Such are the outlines of these excellent institutions. How far, or in what degree, they may operate upon a people so widely dispersed, and of such different manners and customs, can only be proved by time and experience. But though they may fail in producing *all* those advantages which the speculative reasoner might expect, yet they must be attended with most beneficial effects; as sufficiently appears from the flourishing state of those provinces in which they have been already admitted. If it be allowed that many evils have been reformed, and many improvements introduced, it cannot at the same time be supposed that the national manners should be suddenly changed, or that the most absolute sovereign can venture to shake those fundamental customs which have been sanctioned by ages. It is surely sufficient if the abuses are remedied, as much as can be expected in such a country; where the vast disproportion of rank and fortune, and the vassalage of the peasants, render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish at once an impartial administration of justice.



Russia, with respect to the vast mass of people, is nearly in the same state in which the greater part of Europe was plunged during the 11th and 12th centuries; when the feudal system was gradually declining; when the unbounded authority of the land-holders over their slaves was beginning to be counter-balanced by the introduction of an intermediate order of merchants; when new towns were continually erecting, and endowed with increasing immunities, and when the crown ventured to give freedom to its vassals.

## C H A P. 5.

Inquiry into the present state of civilization in the Russian empire.

—Division of the inhabitants into nobles, clergy, merchants, and burghers.—Peasants.—Privileges granted to the merchants, burghers, and peasants.—State of vassalage.

MUCH has been written concerning the great civilization which Peter the Great introduced into Russia; that he obliged the people to shave their beards, and relinquish their national dress; that he naturalized the arts and sciences, disciplined his army, created a navy, and made a total change throughout his extensive empire. We may readily admit the truth of this eulogium with respect to his improvements in the discipline of his army and the creation of a navy; for these were objects within the reach of his persevering genius: but the pompous accounts of the total change which he is said to have effected in the national manners, seem the mere echoes of foreigners, who never visited the country, and who collected the history of Peter from partial information. For though a nation, compared with itself at a former period, may have made a rapid progress towards improvement; yet, as the exaggerated accounts which I had heard and read of the great civilization diffused throughout the whole empire, led me to expect a more polished state of

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manners,



manners, I must own I was astonished at the barbarism in which the bulk of the people still continue. I am ready to allow that the principal nobles are as civilized, and as refined in their entertainments, mode of living, and social intercourse, as those of other European countries. But there is a wide difference between polishing a nation, and polishing a few individuals. The merchants and peasants still universally retain their national dress, their original manners, and, what is most remarkable, the greater part of the merchants and burghers of the large towns, even the citizens of Petersburg and Moscow, resemble, in their external appearance and general mode of living, the inhabitants of the smallest village; and, notwithstanding the rigorous edicts issued by \* Peter I. the far greater number still wear their beards; being scarcely less

\* “ Il ordonna aux Russes de quitter l’habit long et la barbe. Une amende fut imposée aux amateurs obstinés de l’ancien usage. Bien des Russes, et surtout les Rozkolniks, regardaient le changement d’habit comme un renoncement à la religion, et disaient qu’il valaient mieux perdre la tête que la barbe : ils furent obligés de payer un droit pour n’être pas rasés, et ils recevaient un jetton que leur servait de quittance. Souvent à la cour on énivrait les vieux boïars, et on leur taillait la barbe d’une manière si ridicule, qu’ils étaient obligés de garder la chambre pendant plusieurs mois, on de se faire raser. On attachait aux portes des villes un modèle du nouvel habit, et on rognait la robe de ceux qui ne voulaient pas payer : on les rasait malgré eux dans les rues.” L’Evesque, IV. p. 157.

attached

attached to that patriarchal custom than their ancestors, when the fine for mutilating a finger was rated at 1s. 3*d.*; that for cutting off the beard, or whiskers, at 4s. 10*d.* \*.

In fact, the peasants, who form the bulk of the nation, are still almost as deficient in the arts as before the reign of Peter, although the sciences have flourished in the capital. But the civilization of a numerous and widely dispersed people is not the work of a moment, and can only be affected by a gradual and almost insensible progress.

If from these general reflections we distinctly consider the different classes of subjects in the Russian empire, we shall be enabled to form some probable judgment concerning the present state of civilization.

The inhabitants may be divided into four orders: nobles and gentry, clergy, merchants, burghers, and other freemen, and peasants.

The three first include almost all the free subjects of the empire, and the latter all the vassals or slaves.

I. The first order comprehends the nobles and gentry: the sole † persons who, in the true spirit

\* Haygold, I. p. 337.

† Catharine, in confirming the immunities of the nobles, decreed, "Que le droit d'acheter ou de vendre des terres seroit propre ou particulier aux seuls nobles." Le Clerc, p. 472.



of feudal despotism, have a right to possess land ; but instead of appearing themselves, according to the tenure of that system, at the head of their retainers, are now only expected to serve in the army, and obliged to furnish recruits in proportion to the number of their vassals.

In Russia, as in the Oriental governments, there is scarcely any distinction of ranks among the nobility, excepting what is derived from the service of the sovereign. Even the eldest sons of those persons, who have been raised to the most considerable honours and highest employments, excepting the advantages which they undoubtedly retain of facilitating their promotion by a ready access to court, do not derive any solid benefits from their birth, like those which the peers of England, the grandees of Spain, or the dukes, who are peers of France, enjoy from their hereditary descent. The importance of a noble family of large property and official honours, is almost annihilated on the death of the chief ; because his property is equally divided among his sons ; and because titles, though allowed to be hereditary, do not, independent of the sovereign's favour, contribute much to aggrandize the possessors : that of a prince, a count, or a baron, conveying in themselves little personal distinction, unless accompanied with a civil or military employment,

Before

Before the æra of Peter the Great, the only title in Russia, excepting that of boyar, which signified privy-councillor, and was not hereditary, and other appellations annexed to civil employments, was that of *knaes*, which was esteemed synonymous to prince. Persons who assumed this title were descended, or pretended to be so, either from the different collateral branches of the reigning family, or from some Lithuanian princes who established themselves in Russia in the 14th and 15th centuries; or from the numerous Tartar nobles who became subjects to Ivan Vassilievitch II. and his immediate successors; or from several Polish and other foreign families, who settled in this empire. In process of time the number of these princes increased so considerably, that, according to Lord Whitworth, no less than 300 were common soldiers in prince Mentchikof's regiment of dragoons. Though Peter the Great, in imitation of other European courts, introduced the titles of count and baron, and his example has been followed by his successors, yet neither these titles, nor that of *knaes*, have been esteemed a sufficient aggrandizement, because the greatest favourites of the sovereign have been occasionally created, by the emperor of Germany, princes of the Roman empire; as prince Mentchikof at the request of Peter,



ter, and princes Orlof and Potemkin, during the present reign \*.

According to the system introduced by Peter I. but which has gradually been corrupted as it has receded from its source, every person takes precedence from his military rank; he must rise in regular gradation, and, before he can be an officer, must have served as a corporal or serjeant. But this ordinance is easily eluded; frequently infants are made serjeants and corporals, and it is not necessary to have served even one campaign in order to obtain precedence, as it may be conferred by civil offices. Although the law of Peter I. which compelled each nobleman or gentleman, under pain of degradation, to serve in the army, was abolished by Peter III †; yet the effects still subsist. No one under the rank of a major is permitted to drive more than two horses; under that of brigadier, more than four: a nobleman of the highest fortune and

\* Also prince Besborodko and prince Zubof.

† The Abbé de Chappe, in a remark upon the abolition of this law by Peter III. is guilty of a ridiculous mistake, when he supposes, that before this decree the nobles were *slaves*. About a week after his accession to the throne, Peter went to the senate, and declared, "that he had granted the privilege of *freedom* to the nobility." This mistake arose from an omission in his decree, in which the nobles were only *declared free*, without the addition of *to serve, or not to serve, as they thought proper*. See Antidote, p. 148 to 150.

distinction,

distinction, who has never been in the army, is not allowed, excepting by the special permission of the crown, to use in the capital a carriage drawn by more than one horse; while a merchant may have two. There are various methods, however, of procuring military dignity, and the privileges annexed to it. Amongst others, a chamberlain, for instance, to the sovereign, *ranks* as major-general; the office of a secretary, in the different departments of government, confers the *rank* of an officer, and the contributor of a certain sum to the foundling-hospital at Moscow, obtains the *rank* of a lieutenant. These regulations, and the ease with which military *rank* is acquired, has induced a German, settled in Russia, to express himself with some humour in the following manner: “A nobleman is here nothing; his situation in the army alone marks the value of his existence. A physician has the *rank* of major, and dares, as a staff-officer, put four horses to his carriage, while others can only drive two; an apothecary in the imperial service has the *rank* of a captain; his apprentices that of ensigns; and the two surgeons of the district bear the *rank* of lieutenants\*.” But however ridiculous those promotions may appear, yet they are founded on prin-

\* Schloetzer's Briefwechsel for 1781, p. 365.



ciples of the soundest policy : for as, by a decree of Peter the Great, every officer is noble during his life, and the children of a staff-officer are classed among the nobility, any institution tending to increase the number of this order of men, who alone are entitled to possess land, cannot fail of being highly beneficial to society. On their own estates the nobles and gentry are almost uncontrouled, having absolute authority over their vassals.

II. The next order of subjects is the clergy.

I have already had occasion to mention the origin and suppression of the office of patriarch, who was formerly the head of the Russian clergy. Peter finally abolished that dignity in 1719; but, instead of formally declaring himself the head of the church, he prudently consigned the chief ecclesiastical authority to a tribunal which he called the Sacred Synod, which was in effect subservient to him, as all its members took an oath, acknowledging him as their supreme judge. The synod is composed of the sovereign, who is president; a vice-president, who is generally the metropolitan archbishop; and a number of counsellors and assessors.

The clergy are divided into, 1. Regular, or monks ; and 2. Secular, or parish priests.

1. The principal wealth of the church is centered in the monasteries, which formerly had estates  
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to the amount of £. 400,000 per annum; and, like the other land-holders, enjoyed uncontrouled authority over their peasants, who are equally bondsmen as on the possessions of the laity. The empress has annexed these church-lands to the crown, and in return grants annual pensions to the hierarchy, the dignified clergy, and the monks. The archbishops and bishops receive each about £. 1,000 or £. 1,200 per annum, and the subordinate ecclesiastics in proportion. Soon after this regulation, many of the monasteries were suppressed; and the members in those which were spared, were considerably reduced as well by the prohibition to admit more than a certain number, as by limiting the age of noviciates. The abolition of monasteries must be acknowledged a beneficial circumstance in most countries; yet one evil is to be apprehended from it in Russia: they were the only seminaries of education for those persons designed for the sacred function; and the monks are, if I may so express myself, almost the sole proprietors of the learning which subsists among the clergy. But, most probably, the ill effects which may be expected from the suppression of some convents, will be compensated by the improvement introduced into the administration of those which are continued, and by the schools lately established in  
various



various parts of the empire for the education of ecclesiastics.

All the dignitaries of the church are chosen from the order of monks; these are archbishops and bishops, archimandrites or abbots, and igoomens or priors. "The episcopal order in Russia is distinguished by the different titles of metropolitan, archbishop, and bishop. The titles of metropolitan and archbishop are not attached to the see; but are, at present, merely personal distinctions conferred by the sovereign, which give the possessors no additional power, and scarcely any precedence \*."

The monasteries are governed by archimandrites and igoomens; and the nunneries, superintended by abbesses.

2. The Russian parish-priests are called papas, or popes; a word signifying father, and indiscriminately applied in the early ages of Christianity to all ecclesiastics, until it was confined to the bishop of Rome by an edict of Gregory VII. The members of the Greek communion, however, did not obey this order, and the priests of that persuasion are still distinguished by the appellation of pope.

The parochial clergy, who may, and ought to be, the most useful members of society, are in

\* Dr. King on the Greek Church, p. 272.

Russia the refuse of the people. It is literally true, that many of them cannot even read \*, in their own language, the Gospel which they are commissioned to preach; but deliver from memory the service, a chapter of the New Testament, or part of a homily, which they repeat every Friday and Sunday. Nor is it in the least surprising that some are so illiterate, when we consider the scanty maintenance which they derive from their profession. Beside the surplice fees, which in the poorest benefices amount to £.4 per annum, and in the most profitable to but £.20; they have only a wooden house, scarcely superior to that of the meanest among their parishioners, and a small portion of land, which they usually cultivate with their own hands; while the highest dignity to which they can ever attain, as long as they continue married, is that of a protopope of a cathedral, whose income scarcely exceeds £.20 a year. As the parish-priests are undoubtedly the principal sources from which instruction must be generally diffused among the lower class of people, if they, who ought to enlighten others, are so ignorant, how gross must be the ignorance of their parishioners! In no instance, perhaps, has

\* This shameful ignorance is certainly less common than formerly; as the bishops are more cautious in ordaining such improper persons.



the empress contributed more towards civilizing her people, than by instituting seminaries for the children of priests, by endeavouring to promote among the clergy a zeal for liberal science, and to rouse them from that profound ignorance in which they are plunged\*.

The monks are not permitted to marry, while the parish-priests are compelled to take a wife as a preliminary to ordination; and if their wives happen to die, they may enter into a convent, and become dignitaries of the church. They cannot engage in a second marriage unless they become laymen; neither can they continue parish-priests without the express permission of a bishop. The children of the secular clergy are all free; their sons are usually brought up for orders, or employed in the service of the church.

All the clergy wear long beards, and long hair, which flows down their shoulders, without being tied or curled. Their dress is a square bonnet, and a long robe of a black or dark colour, reaching to the ankles. The secular and

\* An instance of her majesty's zeal in this particular fell under my observation. When I visited the press of the Holy Synod at Moscow, three volumes of sermons were printing in the Russian tongue: they were translations, by the empress's command, from the best English, French, and German authors, of those principally which contained a clear discussion of the moral duties. They were to be distributed among the parochial clergy, who had orders to read them occasionally in the time of divine service.

regular priests use, in some instances, a different habit, and the dignitaries of the church are distinguished by a more costly vestment\*.

I cannot forbear mentioning, that, during the five months we passed at Peterburgh, and in our daily intercourse with the nobility and gentry, I never once saw in company a single person of the sacred profession. It must be allowed, indeed, that the parish-priests are, for the most part, too low and ignorant to be qualified for admission into genteel societies; while the dignitaries, being a separate order, and restrained by strict regulations, reside chiefly in their palaces within the monasteries; and contract an aversion, perhaps an unfitness, for social intercourse. This general character of the Russian hierarchy does by no means comprehend all the individuals; as some of them, with whom I occasionally conversed, were men of liberal manners and enlightened understandings†.

The third division of Russian subjects comprehends that intermediate class of men between the nobles and peasants, which is thus defined by

\* See prints of the several ecclesiastical dresses in King's State of the Greek Church in Russia.

† The dignitaries occasionally dine at the tables of the nobility upon days of great ceremony, as on that of St. Alexander Nevski, when I met the archbishop of Rostof at prince Volkonki's. See vol. I. book III. chap. II.



the empress, in the 16th chapter of her instructions for the new code of laws.

“ This class of men, worthy to be mentioned by us, and from whom the country may promise itself great advantages, when it shall have received a stable form, and which has for its end the encouragement of good morals, and the love of industry, is the middle state. This state, composed of freemen, belongs neither to the class of nobles nor to that of peasants. All those who, being neither gentlemen nor peasants, follow the arts and sciences, navigation, commerce, or exercise trades, are to be ranked in this class. In this class should be placed all those who, born of plebeian parents, shall have been brought up in schools or places of education, religious or others, founded by us or by our predecessors. Also the children of officers, and of the secretaries to the chancery. But as this third estate is susceptible of different degrees of privileges, which we do not mean to detail in this place, we shall only here open the way for a more ample examination.”

Although, before the reign of Peter the Great, certain bodies of merchants enjoyed peculiar privileges, which raised them above the condition of peasants, yet these were few, and their advantages, considering the immense monopolies in the hands of the crown, and the oppression

sion under which they laboured from the power of the great, extremely precarious. Peter, who during his travels, perceived the utility of a third estate for the purposes of commerce, made many regulations with this view, which, though excellent in themselves, yet being not adapted to the state of property in Russia, did not answer the end proposed. Among these regulations, he endowed some free towns with certain privileges, which were afterwards augmented by Elizabeth. But these privileges were confined to Petersburg, Moscow, Astracan, Tver, and a few other great provincial towns; and all the inhabitants, even merchants not excepted, were not distinguished from the peasants, in two instances, which are considered in this country as indelible marks of servitude: they were subject to the poll-tax, and to be draughted for the army and navy. Catharine has exempted the body of merchants from these two instances of servitude, has increased the number and immunities of the free towns, and permitted many of the crown-peasants, and all free men, to enrol themselves, under stipulated conditions, in the class of merchants or burghers.

The merchants are distributed into three classes. The first comprehends those who have a capital of 10,000 roubles; the second those who possess 5,000; and the third those who are



worth 500. By the 47th article of the celebrated manifesto of Graces, which the empress conferred upon her subjects at the conclusion of the Turkish war in 1775; all persons who chuse to enter themselves in any of these classes are exempted from the poll-tax, on condition of paying annually one per cent. of their capital employed in trade to the crown. The extent of their capitals, however, is not rigorously examined, for the merchants may fix their capital at any amount; as a person possessing above 10,000 roubles may enrol himself in any of the inferior classes, or even in that of the burghers.

This alteration in the mode of assessing merchants is advantageous both to the crown and to the subjects; the former receives, and the latter cheerfully pay, one per cent. of their capital, because they are exempted from the poll-tax, and are entitled to additional immunities. It is also a just impost, as each merchant pays according to his fortune: if his profits increase, his assessment increases; if they diminish, his contribution proportionably diminishes. With respect to the general interests of the nation, it is a master-piece of policy; it excites industry, by holding up to the people a principle of honour, as well as of interest, to be derived from the augmentation of their capital; and affords an additional security from arbitrary impositions,

by

by pledging the good faith of government in the protection of their property. It is likewise productive of another essential public benefit, by creating, as it were, a third estate, which, as it increases in wealth, credit, and importance, must by degrees acquire additional privileges, and gradually rise into consequence.

The burghers form the second division of this order: the term burgher is applied to all inhabitants of free towns, who declare that they possess a capital less than £.100; or who, having that sum, do not chuse to assume the more honourable name of merchants. They possess many privileges superior to the peasants; but are distinguished from the merchants by being still subject to the poll-tax, and to enrolment in the army or navy.

Under this third order must be included all the other free subjects of the empire; namely, those slaves who have received liberty from their masters; those who have obtained their dismissal from the army and navy; the members of the Academy of Arts, and of other similar institutions, orphans from the Foundling-Hospital, and, lastly, the children of all these freemen. All these persons have permission to settle and trade in any part of the empire, and may enrol themselves, according to their capital, among the burghers or merchants. By these wise regulations,



lations, the number of persons above slaves will gradually increase, and must in time form a very considerable order of men, as soon as they shall acquire the right of possessing land.

It is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that the Russian merchants and tradesmen seldom keep books of accounts, (as few of them can either read or write) and are unacquainted with the knowledge of figures. Their manner of reckoning is by a machine\*, with several rows of wires, upon which beads are strung. The beads on the first row stand for units, those on the second for tens, on the third for hundreds, on the fourth for thousands, and in a similar progression. By means of this machine they subtract, multiply, and divide with great exactness. An exception, among a few others, to this general observation, should be mentioned. The most honest and intelligent persons of this order are the inhabitants of Archangel and its environs: they are mostly able to read, write, and cast accounts; many of them are much employed at Peterburgh, by the members of the British factory, to superintend their warehouses, and they have the general character of faithful and industrious servants. It may, perhaps, be difficult to

\* Similar to the Chinese. Professor Saunderson, who was blind, used an improved machine of this kind in his mathematical computations.

account for the peculiar circumstances which have concurred to render the inhabitants of the town and environs of Archangel more intelligent than the other Russians, unless the following cause should be thought sufficient. Archangel, from the time of its first discovery by the English in 1554, was, during a considerable period, the great emporium of Russia; many of the inhabitants, therefore, being connected with foreign merchants, who required great exactness in their dealings, were gradually trained to business. By a kind of local enthusiasm and traditional instruction, they have continued to distinguish themselves among their countrymen, by acquiring the rudiments of arithmetic, and by a diligent discharge of their trust.

IV. The fourth order of subjects comprehends the peasants.

The peasants of Russia are generally serfs, or slaves\*, and may be divided into, 1. Peasants of

\* In the former editions of this work, and according to the state of the peasants in 1779, I had the satisfaction of adding to this list of free peasants, those of the Ukraine and Russian Finland, who preserved a considerable degree of freedom until the late extension of the poll-tax has reduced them almost to a level with the rest. For by subjecting them to that assessment, the empress has unconsciously counteracted the general principle which had hitherto been the chief object of her reign, that of gradually extending the privileges and freedom of the lower class of people. By introducing



of the crown. 2. Peasants belonging to individuals.

1. The crown peasants inhabit the imperial demesnes; and probably comprehend, including those belonging to the church lands, which are now annexed to the crown, about the sixth part of the Russian peasants. They are immediately under the jurisdiction of the imperial officers or bailiffs. Although liable to great exactions, by the tenure of their subjection, from these petty tyrants, yet they are much more secure of their property; and being under the protection of the sovereign, any flagrant instances of oppression are more easily made known and redressed. Many of these vassals, in particular districts, have been enfranchised, and permitted to enrol themselves among the merchants and burghers; and the whole body will gradually receive more privileges, as the spirit of humanity and policy penetrates further into these regions.

2. Peasants belonging to individuals are the private property of the landholders, as much as

among the peasants of the Ukraine, or Russian Finland, a tax, which is considered as a badge of slavery, she has been reduced to the necessity of rendering them serfs, or *glebæ adstricti*, who were before free peasants, from the impolitic law, which is the unavoidable consequence of the poll-tax, in a country wherein the nobles can alone possess landed property, that of making the landholder answerable for the assessment of his peasants; as under that circumstance he must have the power of preventing their migration.

implements

implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle, and the value of an estate is estimated, as in Poland, by the number of boors, and not by the number of acres. No regulations have, perhaps, tended more to rivet the shackles of slavery, than the two laws of Peter the Great; one which renders the landholder accountable to the crown for the poll-tax of his vassals, and the other which obliges him to furnish a certain number of recruits; for by these means he becomes interested to prevent the migration of his peasants without permission from the place of their nativity. With respect to his own demands on his peasants, the lord is restrained by no law. He is absolute master of their time and labour; some he employs in agriculture, a few he makes his menial servants, perhaps without wages; and from others he exacts an annual payment \*. Each vassal, therefore, is rated according

\* The empress thus expresses herself on this head:

“ Il n’y a guere de village, qui ne paye ses redevances en argent. Les possesseurs, qui ne voyent jamais ou que très rarement leurs villages, imposent chaque tête à un à deux et jusqu’à cinq roubles, sans s’embarrasser comment le paysan s’y prendra pour gagner cet argent.

“ Il seroit très nécessaire de prescrire aux possesseurs des Loix qui les obligent à agir avec plus de circonspection dans la maniere dont ils se font payer leurs droits, et à exiger du paysan des redevances qui soient de nature à l’éloigner le moins qu’il sera possible de sa maison et de sa famille. Par ce moyen l’on mettra  
l’agriculture



according to the arbitrary will of his master. Some contribute four or five shillings a year; others, who are engaged in traffic or business, are assessed in proportion to their supposed profits. Any capital which they acquire by their industry, may be seized, and there can be no redress; as, according to the old feudal law, which still exists, a slave cannot institute a process against his master.

The mode adopted by many landholders with their peasants, reminds me of the practice among the Romans. Atticus, we are told, caused many of his slaves to be instructed in the art of copying manuscripts, which he sold at a very high price, and raised a considerable fortune. On similar principles some of the Russian nobility send their vassals to Moscow or Petersburg, for the purpose of learning various handicraft trades: they either employ them on their own estates, let them out for hire, sell them at an advanced price, or receive from them an annual compensation for the permission of exercising their trade for their own advantage.

In regard to the lord's authority over their

*l'agriculture en vigueur, et la population augmentera dans l'empire."* Instruction, &c. p. 79.

This custom of obliging the peasants to pay an annual sum in money, frequently drives the necessitous to the most desperate modes of acquiring it.

persons,

persons, according to the antient laws, he might try them in his own courts of justice, or punish them without any process; he could inflict every species of penalty excepting the knout, order them to be whipped, or confined in dungeons; he might send them to houses of correction, or banish them into Siberia; or, in short, take cognizance of every misdemeanour which was not a public offence. He had, indeed, no power over their lives; for, if a slave was beat by order of his master, and died within the space of three days, the master was guilty of murder, unless other reasons could be assigned for his demise. But was not this almost a mockery of justice? for surely a man might be terribly chastised without suffering death within *three days*; and if a vassal died within that space, and his master was a man of consequence, who could bring him to justice \*? By the new regulations,

\* How often must such tyrannies escape the cognizance of the court, and remain unpunished! Sometimes, indeed, a noble is brought to justice. One instance, though mentioned in a former publication, I beg leave to introduce in this place: "In the prison of Moscow there is a gentleman confined, and he alone is denied the privilege of ever coming from his cell; a punishment which is by no means adequate to his crime; namely, that of ordering several of his peasants to be whipped in so cruel a manner, that they died. This circumstance will show the power which the lords have over their peasants; and will at the same time prove, that such crimes, when discovered, do not always remain unpunished." Account of Prisons, &c. p. 12.

this



this enormous power is reduced by restrictions more consonant to the humane principles which distinguish all the regulations of the empress; and the right of inflicting punishment is lodged, where it ever ought to be, in the hands of the public magistrate. Abuses, however, still subsist; but must, in time, yield to the influence of such salutary institutions.

I am far from asserting, that inhumanity is the general characteristic of the Russian nobility; or that many persons do not treat their vassals with the utmost benevolence. I am also well aware, that several peasants are in such a flourishing condition as to have accumulated very considerable capitals without dread of exaction; and that some even possess landed estates under their masters names. But if we consider the unhappy pleasure which too many feel in tyrannizing over their inferiors, we have every reason to conclude, that the generality of boors must still be cruelly oppressed. How then can a country said to be civilized, in which domestic slavery still exists?

The vassals who work for their masters, generally receiving their maintenance, or being accommodated with a small portion of land, always enjoy in sufficient abundance the common necessaries of life; and usually spend their earning in clothes or spirituous liquors. Those who

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in contradiction to this general rule, save the profits of their labour, or trade, conceal as much as possible an acquisition of fortune; they seldom change their mode of living, and frequently bury their money in the ground. This custom is one reason, among several others, of the scarcity of silver currency; that being the specie which is chiefly amassed. The practice of hiding money is common in all countries of the East, where property is not well secured; and where the people, through dread of exactions, cannot even venture to use the riches which they have acquired.

A peasant may obtain his liberty, 1. By manumission, which, on the death of the master, is frequently granted to those who have served in the capacity of his immediate domestics; 2. By purchase; 3. By serving in the army or navy; for a peasant is free from the moment of his enrolment. In all these cases the empress has facilitated the means of obtaining freedom, by waving several rights of the crown, which, in some measure, obstructed this emancipation. Although the sovereign cannot alter the fundamental state of property, by conferring on the peasants, as individuals, privileges which might infringe those of the nobles; yet she has alleviated their condition by issuing several laws in their favour. By allowing free peasants to settle  
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in any part of her dominions, and enrol themselves among the burghers or merchants, according to their respective capital. She has given a stability to their freedom, and afforded the strongest incitements for the exertions of industry. She has repealed those oppressive laws, which forbad, in certain districts, all peasants to marry without the consent of the governor of the province, or the vayvode of the town, who usually exacted a present from the parties \*.

From this general review of the various inhabitants in Russia, it may be perceived, that, though proceeding towards civilization, they are still far removed from that state; that a general improvement cannot take place while the greater part continue in absolute vassalage; nor can any effectual change be introduced in the national manners, until the people enjoy full security in their persons and property.

\* See 17th article of the Manifesto, at the conclusion of the peace with the Grand Signor: "In certain districts of our empire it has been hitherto necessary to obtain a permission to marry from the governors of provinces, or the vayvodes of towns, and this permission was usually purchased by money or cattle. We abolish this custom; and from this time every person shall be free to marry without obtaining similar permissions."

## CHAP. 6.

Academy of Sciences.—Origin and institution.—Transactions.—Members.—Library.—Museum.—Fossil bones of elephants and other animals found in Siberia.—Native copper and iron.—Golden ornaments from several ancient sepulchres.—Russian coins.—Waxen figure of Peter the Great.—Celestial globe of Gottorp.—Academy of Arts.—Society for the Promotion of Agriculture.—Corps de cadets.—Couvent des demoiselles nobles.

THE Imperial Academy of Sciences owes its institution to Peter the Great, who, during his travels, observed the advantage of public societies for the promotion of literature. By the advice of Wolf and Leibnitz, the society was regulated, and several learned foreigners were invited to become members. Peter himself drew the plan, and signed it on the 10th of February 1724; but was prevented, by his sudden death, from carrying it into execution. His decease, however, did not prevent its completion; for, on the 21st of December 1725, it was established by Catharine I. and on the 27th the first assembly took place. On the 1st of August 1726, Catharine honoured the meeting with her presence, when professor Bulfinger, an eminent German naturalist, pronounced an oration upon the advances



advances made by means of the loadstone and needle, for the discovery of the longitude\*.

The empress settled an annual fund of £.5,000† for the support of the academy; and fifteen members, eminent for learning and talents, were admitted and pensioned, under the title of professors in the various branches of literature and science. The most distinguished were Nicholas and Daniel Bernoulli, the two de Lilles, Bulfinger, and Wolf.

During the short reign of Peter the Second, the salaries of the members were discontinued, and the academy neglected by the court; but it was again patronized by the empress Anne, who even added a seminary for the education of youth, under the superintendence of the professors. Both institutions flourished under the direction of baron Korf; but, on his death, an ignorant person being appointed president, many of the most able members quitted Russia. At the accession of Elizabeth, new life and vigour were restored to the academy: the original plan was enlarged and improved; some of the most learned foreigners were again drawn to Peterf-

\* See Nachricht von der Kays: Acad. &c. in Schmidt Beytraeye, p. 35; also Jour. Pet. for June 1779, p. 383.

† "Summam a Petro Magno constitutam viginti-quatuor millium nongentorum et duodecim rubellonum." Nov. Com. I. p. 5.

burgh, and, what was considered as a good omen for the literature of Russia, two natives, Lomonosof and Rumovský, men of genius and abilities, who had prosecuted their studies in foreign universities, were enrolled among the members. The annual income was increased to £ 10,659, and soon afterwards the new institution took place.

The empress Catharine, with her usual zeal for promoting the diffusion of knowledge, took this useful Society under her more immediate protection; she altered the court of directors greatly to the advantage of the whole body; corrected many abuses, and infused a new spirit into their researches. By her particular recommendation, the most ingenious professors visited the various provinces of her dominions; and as the fund of the Academy was not sufficient to supply the whole expence, the empress bestowed a largess\* of £.2,000, which has been occasionally renewed.

The purport of these travels will appear from the instructions given by the academy. The persons engaged in these expeditions were ordered to pursue their inquiries on the different sorts of earths and waters; on the best methods of cultivating the barren and desert spots; on

\* Bach, Russ. Bibl. vol. I. p. 50.



the local disorders incident to men and animals, and the most efficacious means of relieving them; on breeding cattle, and particularly sheep; on the rearing of bees and silkworms; on the different places and objects for fishing and hunting; on minerals; on the arts and trades; and on the indigenous plants to form a *Flora Russica*. They were particularly instructed to rectify the longitude and latitude of the principal towns; to make astronomical, geographical, and meteorological observations; to trace the course of the rivers; to take the most exact charts; to describe with accuracy the manners, customs, dresses, languages, antiquities, traditions, history, religion; in a word, to gain every information which might tend to illustrate the real state of the empire.

In consequence of these expeditions, perhaps no country can boast, within the space of a few years, such a number of excellent publications on its internal state, natural productions, topography, geography, and history; on the manners, customs, and languages of the different people, as have issued from the press of the Academy.

The most remarkable of these distinguished travellers are Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenshaedt\*, Georgi, and Lepekin.

\* The reader will find an account of Pallas, Gmelin, and Guldenshaedt in the next chapter.

The first transactions of this society were published in 1728, and intitled, *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae, ad An. 1726*, with a dedication to Peter II. The publication was continued under this form until the year 1747, when the transactions were called *Novi\* Commentarii Academiae, &c.* In 1777 the Academy again changed the title into *Acta Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae*, and altered the arrangement of the work. The papers, which had been hitherto published in the Latin tongue, are now written either in that language or French; and a preface is added, styled *Partie Historique*, which contains an account of the proceedings, meetings, admission of new members, and other occurrences†. Of the Commentaries, fourteen volumes were published; the first of the New Commentaries made its appearance in 1750, and the twentieth in 1776. Under the title of *Acta Academiae*, several volumes have been given to the public; and two are to be printed every year. These trans-

\* “Hunc autem et sequentes tomos Novorum Commentariorum nomine ideo venire, quia Academia nunc novis legibus instructa est; et classes hic aliter, ac in præcedentibus tomis fieri solebat, dispositæ inveniuntur.” *Nov. Com. Vol. I. p. 4.*—In this same volume the statutes for the regulation of the Society, under its new institutions, are inserted, p. 9—33.

† *Acta Pet. for 1771. P. I.*



actions abound with ingenious and elaborate disquisitions on various parts of science and natural history, which reflect great honour upon their authors; and it may not be an exaggeration to assert, that no society in Europe has more distinguished itself for the excellence of its publications, particularly in the abstruse parts of the pure and mixed mathematics.

The academy is still composed, as at first, of fifteen professors, the president and director. Each professor has a house and an annual stipend from £.200 to £.600. Beside the professors, there are four adjuncts, who are also pensioned; they are present at the sittings of the society, and succeed to the first vacancies.

This general account of the establishment, progress, and present state of the Academy, will be naturally succeeded by a description of the library, the cabinet of natural history, and the other curiosities, which I visited several times during my stay at Petersburg.

The library owed its origin to 2,500 volumes which Peter the Great seized at Mittau, in his Swedish campaign; it was afterwards increased by the bounty of that emperor, and of his successors, and lately enriched by the curious collection of prince Radzivil at Newitz, taken by the Russians in 1772, during the troubles of Poland. M. Bachmeister informed me, that,  
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since this last acquisition, the number of books amounted to 36,000. The most ancient MSS. are the Lives of the Saints, written in 1298, and a Chronicle of Nestor, the earliest historian of this empire. This Chronicle, together with those of Novogorod, Plescof, of the Ukraine, Casan, and Astracan, the genealogical tables of the early great-dukes, from Vladimir the Great to the czar Ivan Vassilievitch, compiled in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and following centuries, convinced me, that Russia is extremely rich, as well in documents relating to its more remote annals, as to those of later times\*. They are all written in the Sclavonian tongue. Among the MSS. relating to the history of Russia, must not be omitted sixteen volumes in folio, containing an account of the negotiations of Peter's ministers, from 1711 to 1716; also thirty volumes of the official correspondence of prince Mentchikof, from 1703 to 1717; these collections would serve as good materials towards compiling an authentic history of Peter the Great, a work much wanted.

One MS. although of very modern date, is yet highly valued, on account of the august person by whom it was written, and is preserved in an elegant box of bronze, gilt. It contains the instructions of the empress to the committee de-

\* See Chap. 8.



legated to form a new code of laws; instructions drawn up by herself, and written with her own hand. This MS. is always placed upon the table, whenever the members of the Academy hold a solemn meeting.

Among several books, the librarian showed me a volume, containing the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, which is curious, as being the first book printed in Russia\*; it bears the date of 1564, and issued from the press established at Moscow. The paper is certainly of our manufacture, as it bears the English stamp; and we find in Hackluyt, that paper was among the first imports which Russia received from England.

This library contains, perhaps, more Chinese books than any other collection in Europe. They are classed in port-folios, and consist of 2,800 separate pieces. An exact catalogue has been lately made by Leontief, who passed several years at Pekin; where a Russian church is established, and students are permitted to reside for the purpose of learning the language†. Hitherto we have been indebted al-

\* Mr. Nichols informs us, that this book was ten years in the press, and that the names of the first printers were Ivan Hoderson and Peter Timofioffsom. See "The Origin of Printing, 1776," p. 288.

† See Russian Discoveries.

most to the French alone for accounts of the Chinese empire \*. The amicable intercourse, however, which has for some time subsisted between the courts of Peterburgh and Peking, has facilitated the acquisition of Chinese books; and the establishment of a seminary at Peking has led the Russians to obtain a more accurate knowledge of that country. Hence many interesting publications have appeared at Peterburgh, relative to the laws, history, and geography of China, extracted and translated from the originals published at Peking.

The various branches of natural history are distributed in different apartments. This museum, which is extremely rich in native productions, has been considerably augmented by numerous specimens, collected by Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstaedt, and other learned professors, during their late expeditions through the Russian empire.

The stuffed animals and birds, occupy one apartment. Among the former I particularly observed the *Equus Hemionus*, a species of wild horse, which bears the appearance of a mule: it resembles an ass in the mane, ears, feet, and tail, and principally in the black streak down the back;

\* The account of lord Macartney's embassy, by the late sir George Staunton, has added to our knowledge of that empire.



in other parts it is like a horse. It is the same which was called by Aristotle the *Hemionos*, found in his days in Syria, and which he celebrates for its amazing swiftness and fecundity; it is denominated by the Mongols *dshiggetèi*, which signifies eared; is also known among naturalists by the name of *mulus Dauricus*, because it is found in Dauria, about the rivers Amoor, Onon, and Orgoon. These animals, however, are there observed only in small numbers, detached from the numerous herds which inhabit the deserts of Tartary, to the south of the Russian dominions. Their swiftness is proverbial, and is said to exceed even that of the antelope: they are described by the Tartars as very fierce, and so untractable as not to be tamed. Pallas has favoured the world with an accurate description and engraving of this singular animal, in the New Commentaries of the Academy, to which I refer the reader, as well as to Pennant's account, in his History of Quadrupeds. The other animals peculiar to Russia and the adjacent countries, which attracted my notice, are the wild ram, called *Argoli* by the Mongols, by Linnæus *Capra Ammon*, which inhabits the mountainous deserts south of the Lake Baikal; the *Bos Grunniens* of Linnæus, or grunting ox of Pennant, which inhabits Tartary and Thibet, and is mentioned here for the uncommon beauty of  
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of the tail, full and flowing, of a glossy and silky texture. These tails form a considerable article of exportation from Thibet. The Indians fasten small bundles of the hair for fly-flaps; the Chinese dye tufts with a beautiful scarlet, for the decoration of their caps, and the Turks employ it as ornaments \* to their standards. I observed also the ibex, or bouquetin †, of Siberia, the white bear, the ermine, the musk-rat, the flying squirrel; among the amphibious animals, the sea-horse, whose tusk is used instead of ivory, and the sea-otter, which is caught on the coast of Kamtchatka, and of the Aleütian and Fox Islands. This animal is greatly prized for its rich and valuable fur, and the skin is disposed of to the Chinese at a high price ‡.

The collection of birds, insects, fish, shells, dried plants, all ranged in exact order, and after the system of Linnæus, next attracts the observation of the naturalist.

In the cabinet of natural history, I was surprised at the number and variety of fossil bones, teeth, and horns, of the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, discovered in different parts of this

\* The Europeans erroneously suppose these ornaments to be made from horse-tails.

† See account of the bouquetin, in Travels in Switzerland, Letter 41.

‡ See Russian Discoveries.



empire, but more particularly in the southern regions of Siberia, where these animals were never known to exist. According to the opinion of Peter, who, though a great monarch, was certainly no great naturalist, the teeth found near Voronetz were the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great, who, according to some historians, crossed the Don, and advanced as far as Kostinka. The celebrated Bayer conjectures \*, that the bones and teeth found in Siberia belonged to elephants common in that country, during the wars of the Mongol monarchs with the Persians and Indians; and this plausible supposition is in some measure corroborated by the discovery of the entire skeleton of an elephant in one of the Siberian tombs. But this opinion, as Pallas justly observes, is sufficiently refuted by the consideration, that the elephants employed in all the armies of India could never have afforded the vast quantities of teeth which have been already discovered †.

The same ingenious naturalist has given an ample description of these fossil bones, and endeavoured to account for their origin ‡. On

\* Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 63.

† Nov. Com. XIII. p. 440.

‡ Nov. Com. De Ossibus Sibiriae fossilibus. He says, that in no country more fossil bones have been discovered than in Siberia; and that elephants' teeth have been dug up in such plenty, as to make a considerable article of trade.

examining those in the museum, he was led to conclude, that as these bones are equally dispersed in all the northern regions of Europe, the climate probably was in the earlier ages sufficiently warm to be the native countries of the elephant, rhinoceros, and other quadrupeds, now found only in the south. But when he visited, during his travels, the spots where the fossil bodies were found, and could form a judgment from his own observations, and not from the accounts of others, he candidly renounced his former hypothesis, and, in conformity with the opinions of many modern philosophers, asserted that they must have been brought by the waters, and that nothing but a sudden and general inundation, such as the deluge, could have transported them from their native countries to the regions of the north. In proof of this assertion he adds, the bones are generally found separate, as if scattered by the waves, covered with a stratum of mud, evidently formed by the waters, and commonly intermixed with the remains of marine plants \*, instances of which he  
himself

\* Pallas, in a recent publication, has described several fossil bones lately dug up in the government of Casan, some whereof were sent to Petersburg in 1779, and deposited in the museum of the Academy. The most remarkable of these bones which he enumerates, are the following: An elephant's tooth, 10 spans  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and



himself observed during his progress through Siberia, and which sufficiently prove that these regions of Asia were once overwhelmed with the sea.

The most curious of these specimens is the head and foot of a rhinoceros, which were dug up entire in a bank of the Vilui, a small river falling into the Lena, in latitude 64, below Yakutsk: the body was found in December 1771; and when Pallas visited those parts the following year, the head and two legs were sent to him by the governor of the province, and by him transmitted to the museum. Even the skin and hair are very apparent.

The account of the discovery is related in his *Travels* \*.

The and  $15\frac{3}{4}$  inches in circumference; ditto, 5 feet 3 inches in length, and the same in circumference; several bones of elephants of considerable size; a damaged horn of a rhinoceros, 2 feet 4 inches long; a jaw of a rhinoceros, 3 spans and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, containing two black teeth, &c. Bericht von Gebeinen grosser auslaendischer Thiere. Pallas's Nordische Beytrage, vol. I. p. 173.

\* “ This winter the hunters of Yakutsk having found, near the rivulet Vilui, the body of an unknown animal, the head and two hinder feet were sent to Irkutsk by Ivan Argunof, vavvode of Vilitsk. In the account of this discovery, dated the 17th of January, it appears, that in December, about 26 miles above Vilitsk, the body of an animal was observed half buried in the sand, about a fathom from the water, and four fathom from a steep cliff. Being measured, it was found to be 7 feet 7 inches in length, and in height about 7 feet 6 inches. The hide was entire, the body appeared of its natural bulk; but in such a state, that only the head and feet could

The ores collected from the numerous mines of the Russian empire, highly deserve the atten-

could be carried away; one of the feet was sent to Yakutsk, and the remainder to Irkutsk. On inspection, they seemed to have belonged to a full-grown rhinoceros; and as the head was entirely covered with the skin, there could be no doubt of the fact. On one side the small hairs were still perfect. The exterior organization was well preserved, and the eye-lids were not entirely corrupted. Here and there, under the skin, and the bones, and also in the hollow part of the skull, was found a slimy substance, the remains of the putrid flesh; and upon the feet, beside the slime, parts of the tendons and sinews were observed. Both the horn and hoofs were wanting; but the hollow in which the horn had been set, and the edge of the skin which encircled its base, being apparent, and the cloven separation of the hoofs being visible, afforded undoubted proof that the animal was a rhinoceros. I shall here mention a few circumstances, which I obtained from Argunof, relative to the place where the remains of the rhinoceros were discovered, and add a few conjectures on the possibility of their preservation during so long a period. The country about the Vilui is mountainous; and the mountains consist of strata, partly of sand and lime-stone, and partly of clay mixed with many pebbles. The body was found in a hill, composed of sand and pebbles, about fifteen fathoms high: it was buried deep in a coarse gravelly sand; and was preserved by the frost, as the ground in that part is never thawed at any considerable depth. Without this circumstance the skin and other parts of this quadruped would not have been so long preserved. For we cannot assign the quick transportation of this animal, from its native country in the south to these cold regions, to a later period, or to a less important cause, than to the deluge; as the most ancient histories of mankind make no mention of any later revolution of this globe, which could, with equal probability, have buried these remains of the rhinoceros, as well as the bones of elephants scattered throughout Siberia \*."

\* Pallas Reise, Part III. p. 97.



tion of the mineralogist. In speaking of this collection, I shall confine myself to two specimens interesting to naturalists; native copper, and a large mass of native iron. The former was brought from a small island, within sight of Kamtchatka, which takes the name of Mednoi Ostrof, or Copper Island, from the pieces of native copper\* not unfrequently found upon the beach.

The specimen of native iron is part of a most remarkable mass of that metal in its pure state, blended with glass-like matter†: it is in every respect perfect, malleable, and capable of being forged into any form; susceptible of rust; in a word, possessing all the qualities of iron. It was discovered in Siberia by Pallas, who favoured me with a description, which will serve to elucidate his account sent to the Royal Society. Let me only remark, that I repeatedly examined the specimen, and found its real state to be exactly described. I expressly mention these circumstances, as some persons have doubted the existence of this block of native iron; and as I am

\* See Russian Discoveries.

† It appears, by Meyers's analysis of this mineral, that the glass-like matter consists of 8 parts of ferruginous earth, 27 of silicious earth, and 25 of the earth of magnesia. See Meyer's "Versuche mit der von dem Hrn Prof. Pallas in Siberien gefundenen Eisenstufe;" in Beschaeftigungem der Berlin. Gesellschaft. Vol. III. p. 405.

always anxious, whenever I have it in my power, to ascertain the truth of every relation which I give to the public.

“ This mass, which exhibits the first instance of native iron ever found in a perfect state of malleability, was discovered on an eminence opposite to Mount Memis, near the eastern bank of the Yeniseï, between the rivulets Oberi and Sifim, which fall into that river above the town of Krasnoyarsk. It was a separate mass, which seemed to have been detached, by a lapse of time, from the hill on which it rested; and what is very remarkable, the chain of mountains, among which it was found, do not afford the least traces of any volcano, any remains of forges or ancient mines, or in any other part the smallest appearances of native iron. Within 374 yards of the spot where it was observed, is a rich vein of a blueish magnetic ore; which, being visited by the Russian miners, first led to the discovery of the insulated mass. In its original state, it weighed 1,440 English pounds, and was incrust-ed in most parts with a thick coat of blackish iron ore. The inside consists of pure malleable iron, divided by irregular cavities, which are filled with a vitrified transparent substance, yellow for the most part, but black in a few places, especially near the surface, and blended here and there with



with ochre. Those who have never seen any part of this mass may be disposed to conclude that it must have been the effect of art; but they who examine it with attention must be of opinion, that it was entirely natural, although they cannot account for the mode of its production."

The anatomical cabinet is highly esteemed; it was prepared by Ruysch, a celebrated anatomist of the Hague, and sold, in 1717, to Peter the Great, for 30,000 florins\*. This collection is remarkable for the regular succession of fœtuses in spirits, from the earliest period of conception to the birth of the infant; and for the injections of the brain and eye. The membranes of the eye are so fine and tender, that it requires infinite care to inject them; and Ruysch succeeded in this difficult operation. He supposed that he had discovered a new membrane in the choroides of the eye, which is from him called Ruyschian; and although, in the opinion of the most able anatomists, he did not succeed in his attempts to prove the existence of this new membrane†; yet his labours must be esteemed of great use, and his injections of the finer vessels

\* About £. 3,000.

† He affirmed, that he divided the choroides into two membranes; but it is now the received opinion, that he only split the same membrane into two parts.

of the eye are justly admired for their superior delicacy.

I hasten to the chamber of rarities, in which, among the most conspicuous curiosities, must be mentioned the arms and ornaments found in the tombs of Siberia, many of which are of great value \*, being of massive gold, and of elegant

\* The quantity of gold found in these tombs is scarcely credible. One which was opened in the neighbourhood of the Irtysh, is thus described in the *Archæologia*:

“After removing a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to three vaults, constructed of stones of rude workmanship.

“That wherein the prince was deposited, which was in the centre, and the largest of the three, was easily distinguished by the sword, spear, bow, quiver, and arrow, which lay beside him. In the vault beyond him, towards which his feet lay, were his horse, bridle, saddle, and stirrups. The body of the prince lay in a reclining posture, upon a sheet of pure gold, extending from head to foot: and another sheet of gold of the like dimensions was spread over him. He was wrapped in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds. His head, neck, breast, and arms naked, and without any ornament.

“In the lesser vault lay the princess, distinguished by her female ornaments. She was placed reclining against the walls, with a gold chain of many links, set with rubies, round her neck, and gold bracelets round her arms. The head, breast, and arms were naked. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels, and was laid on a sheet of fine gold, and covered over with another. The four sheets of gold weighed 40 pounds. The robes of both looked fair and complete; but, upon touching, crumbled into dust.”

Demidof's Account of certain Tartarian Antiquities,  
in the *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 223, 224.



workmanship. These ornaments consist of bracelets, some of which weigh a pound; collars in the shape of serpents; vases, crowns, bucklers, rings, figures of animals richly carved in gold and silver; sabres with golden hilts, ornamented with precious stones; Tartar idols, and other antiquities. Some of these antiquities were copper knives, spears, and swords, but the greater part are of massive gold, and of elegant workmanship. But how are we to account for the existence of a civilized nation, capable of these works of art, on the banks of the Irtysh, the Tobol, and the Yeniseï? This question is satisfactorily solved by Muller, who made researches, and published an excellent treatise on the subject\*.

After describing the different species of tombs in the southern parts of Siberia, he adds: "That as in several the bones of men, women, and horses, have been found, with javelins, bows, arrows, and other weapons, it is evident that the same ancient superstition, which still reigns in India, was formerly prevalent in Siberia; namely, that departed souls follow the same occupations in a future state, which they pursued in

\* See Mr. Muller's excellent Treatise Von den Altern Graebem in Siberia in Haygold, vol. II. p. 155; also in the Journal of St. Pet. for 1779.

this world \*. For this purpose, at the demise of a distinguished person, his favourite wife, servants, and horses, were sacrificed at his tomb, and buried with him; and for the same reason his arms, dress, and accoutrements, were also interred: hence the Indian wives, to this day, throw themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands." Muller corroborates this opinion by observing, that according to the archives of Yakutsk, he found this custom subsisted among the inhabitants when the Russians conquered Siberia. He next endeavours to ascertain the people to whom these burial places belonged; and he is equally judicious in the solution of this difficult enquiry. The richest of these burial places, he says, were made in the time of Zinghis Khan and his immediate successors. The most valuable tombs being found near the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, and the Irtysh; the next in value in the deserts of the Yenisei; and the poorest in the countries bordering on the lake Baikal; he supposes them all to have been the work of the Mongol hordes at different periods.

\* Or, as the poet has elegantly expressed it;

——— *Quæ gratia currûm*

*Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes*

*Pascere equos; eadem sequitur tellure repostos.*

*Æneid. lib. vi. 653.*



Zinghis, or Tchinghis Khan, laid the foundation of his vast power in the beginning of the 13th century. The roving hordes of Mongols, who were first reduced under his dominion, inhabited the countries about the rivers Selenga, Tola, Orkon, and Anon, stretching from the Amoor to the Mongol Desert, which leads to the wall of China. These hordes were at that time a poor tribe; and hence the tombs which are found in those parts are scantily provided with rich accoutrements, and ornaments of value.

Zinghis having subjected the Mongols, turned his arms to different quarters. With the aid of these warlike tribes, he and his successors conquered great part of China, Independent Tartary, Persia, and India, and held for some years almost all Russia under their yoke. The plunder of such extensive countries centered for the most part in the capital of the chief Khan, acknowledged by all the feudal princes as the head of that vast empire, which, on the death of Zinghis, was divided into many independent principalities. This capital was, about the middle of the 13th century, situated between the Yaik and Irtilsh\*; and accordingly the richest sepulchres  
are

\* Rubruquis, in his journey to the Khan Magnu, successor of Zinghis Khan, describes the last river he crossed to be the Yaik, and

are discovered in the parts lying between those two rivers.

Towards the beginning of the 15th century, the power of the Mongols was annihilated in these parts, and there seems no other period, but the 13th and 14th centuries, in which they could have collected such an immense booty as the ornaments found in these tombs seem to indicate.

A long gallery contains the various dresses of the inhabitants in the Russian empire, and of many eastern nations: among which the Chinese are the most considerable. One apartment is filled with the dresses, arms, and implements brought from the new-discovered islands between Asia and America, and from the parts of the continent visited by the Russian vessels. Some of these specimens are the same which are mentioned in the Journals of the Russian Voyages, namely, caps beautifully adorned with long streamers of hair like ancient helmets; clothes made with the skins of sea-otters, of rein-deer, and of birds painted red, and ornamented with

and as he never mentions the Irtysh, it is probable that the seat of the court was between those two rivers.

These ornaments are executed with such taste and elegance, as to render it probable that they were executed by Europeans, drawn by the liberality of Zinghis Khan and his successors; and Rubruquis met, at the court of Magnu, William Boucher, a French goldsmith.



fringes of leather, hair, or sinews; also wooden masks, representing the heads of large fish and sea-animals, which the inhabitants occasionally wear at festivals \*.

In this gallery are various idols, which Pallas procured from the Calmuc or Mongol hordes roving in Siberia, many of whom are still plunged in a state of the grossest idolatry, and follow the religion of the Dalai Lama. Some of these deities are delineated on canvas; others are of clay, painted or gilt; a few are of bronze, chiefly procured from Thibet. They are mostly grotesque figures, with many hands and arms, sitting cross-legged, and similar to those worshipped by many sects in the East; they are hollow, and generally filled with relics and sentences of prayers. Engravings of the most remarkable idols are given in Pallas's Travels †.

The collection of Russian coins throws a considerable light on the early history of this country. The most ancient substitutes for money were small pieces of leather, or of martens' skin; but in their dealings with foreigners, the Russians, like the Chinese, exchanged their merchandize for gold and silver in bullion. The first æra of coining in Russia is unknown; but the

\* See Russian Discoveries, also Cook's and Vancouver's Voyages.

† See Lord Macartney's Embassy; Turner's Embassy.

art was probably derived from the Tartars. The coins \* are ranged in nine classes.

1. The first contains those without inscriptions: these, which are undoubtedly the most ancient, exhibit in one or two instances a human figure on horseback, wielding a sword; but are for the most part stamped with the rude representations of certain animals, which † denote their Tartarian origin. The cycle or period of computation employed by the Tartars, was similar to that still used by the Chinese and Mongols, and contained twelve years; each successively marked by a different animal: 1. a mouse; 2. an ox; 3. a tiger; 4. a hare; 5. a crocodile or dragon; 6. a serpent; 7. a horse; 8. a lamb; 9. an ape; 10. a hen; 11. a dog; 12. a hog. Of these all but the crocodile, the ape, and the hare, appear on the coins; and perhaps the Tartars who over-ran Russia, used, instead of them, the swan, harpy, and syren. The coins impressed with the figures above-mentioned, were probably struck in the corresponding years of the cycle. The annual tribute paid by the Russians to the Tartars was marked by the

\* Le Clerc has lately favoured the public with a curious account of the Numismatic History of Russia, which he has rendered extremely valuable by engravings of 177 of the most ancient coins. See Hist. de la Russ. Anc. vol. II. p. 527 to 549.

† Sherebatof in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, Part II. p. 15.



animals which denote the particular year of the cycle; and, as in some coins two of these animals are represented at the same time, probably the tribute of two years was delivered at once. 2. Coins with a Tartar inscription exhibit images of men on foot, or on horseback, holding in their hands a sabre, a lance, and a falcon; also of griffins, goats, fowls, and swans. 3. Coins with Tartar and Russian inscriptions. 4. Coins with only Russian characters without date. We may remark on the three last classes, that the characters inscribed on the coins were sometimes Tartar, sometimes Russian, and sometimes both; as the sovereigns were more or less subject to the Tartar yoke. 5. Coins of the great-dukes, beginning from Vassili Demitrievitch, and ending with those of Vassili Ivanovitch. The year in which the great-duke first struck money at Moscow is not ascertained; but from the Russian inscription on the most ancient pieces of this class, *Knaes Veliki Vassili*, the great-duke Vassili, probably about the year 1424, when Vassili Demitrievitch obtained a complete victory over Kundal, khan of the Tartars. The year before the death of Ivan Vassilievitch I. a coin was struck by Aristotle of Bologna, who, with other foreign artists, was drawn by that prince to Moscow. 6. Coins of the princes of the blood who held independent principalities, those of Galitz, Svernigorod,

nigorod, Moshaïsk, Bielofero, Sufdal, Refan, Tver, &c. 7. Those of the principal towns, which had the right of coining; Novogorod, Plescof, Moscow, Tver, &c. The most ancient are those of Novogorod, where the Tartar money had no currency; as the commercial intercourse with foreign nations had introduced the Lithuanian and Swedish specie.

8. Coins from the tzar Ivan Vassilievitch II. to the majority of Peter the Great. The first gold piece was made in the reign of Ivan; when the impresson was greatly improved. On some of these pieces I observed on one side the spread-eagle and an unicorn, and on the reverse, the spread-eagle, with a St. George and the dragon on its breast. The first introduction of the spread-eagle is supposed to be owing to the marriage of Ivan Vassilievitch I. with the Greek princess Sophia; in whose right he is said to have founded pretensions to the Greek empire, and to have borne that device upon his arms. But we have no proof of the fact, either from the coins of this monarch, or from the accounts of Herberstein and Possevinus; and Ivan Vassilievitch II. was undoubtedly the first prince under whom the device of the spread eagle was stamped on the coin; but history is silent on what occasion it was assumed. The first rouble, which before was only used like our pound sterling



ling in computing, was coined by Alexèy Michaelovitch. In this class are three coins remarkable in the history of the empire: the first is a Russian ducat, having the heads of the two tzars Ivan and Peter Alexievitch on one side, and on the other that of their sister Sophia, with the crown, sceptre, and royal robes. The others are two coins of Ivan and Peter, which baffle the conjectures of historians: they bear no date; and as these princes were joint sovereigns, no antiquary has accounted for their separate representation, when the money, during their reign, was, excepting in this instance, uniformly impressed with both their heads. 9. The last class comprises all the money issued by Peter and his successors: upon comparing these with the preceding coins, it is evident to the commonest observer, how much the die was corrected by Peter the Great on his return from his travels; and that since his time it has gradually degenerated\*.

The cabinet is rich in Eastern coins; containing, among others, those of the caliphs of Arabia and Samarcand; of the khans of Bulgaria, Crim Tartary, and Asof, and of the Mongol tribe, called by the Russians the Golden Horde.

\* See *Essai sur la Bib.* p. 245. *Versuch ueber die alten Russischen Muentzen.* Journ. St. Pet. 1781.

Among the Indian pieces are the twelve roupees, representing the twelve signs of the Zodiac, of queen Nourmahall, whose history, related in the travels of Tavernier \*, has more the air of an Eastern tale than of a true narrative †.

In an adjoining apartment, I was struck with a waxen figure of Peter the Great, as large as life, sitting in an armed chair. The features bear an exact resemblance to the original, being taken from a mould applied to his face when dead, and coloured in imitation of his complexion. The eye-brows and hair are black, the eyes dark, the complexion swarthy, the aspect ferocious, and the head inclined to one side, according to his usual habit. He was very tall; and, on measuring the figure, as well as the posture would permit, the height exceeded six feet. It is clothed in the only full dress which that emperor ever wore, the same which he had on, when he placed the crown upon the head of his beloved Catharine. This dress is of blue silk richly embroidered with silver; the stockings of flesh-coloured silk, with silver clocks. But I should have received more satisfaction in contemplating this great monarch's image, dressed in the plain green uniform, and brass-hilted sword and hat,

\* Tavernier's Travels, Part II. p. 10.

† Bachmeister, Essai sur la Bibl. p. 254.

which



which are preserved in the same room, and were worn by him at the battle of Pultava; the hat is pierced near the crown by a musket ball. This apartment contains also the trowsers, worsted stockings, shoes, and cap, which he wore at Sardam, when he worked as a shipwright in the character of Master Peter.

The Academy of Sciences have paid the greatest respect to the memory of their illustrious founder, by preserving in their museum the horse which he rode at the battle of Pultava, two favourite dogs, his turning-lathe and tools, several specimens of his workmanship; an iron bar, with the following inscription: "1724, Thursday, Feb. 21, His Majesty Peter I. being at Olonetz, forged this bar with his own hand." I must not omit three goblets of silver, presented to the same monarch on launching three ships of the line, constructed under his immediate direction. One of these goblets, containing 65 medals of the French kings, was the gift of the empress Catharine, who equally availed herself of her husband's virtues and foibles to win his affections. Another article, which engaged my attention, was the model of a vessel of 120 guns, given by William III. to Peter during his residence in England. The emperor, who had received many marks of the king's friendship, presented him at parting with a diamond of great

great value, wrapped in a piece of common brown paper; an emblem of himself and his nation, whose virtues and abilities were yet under a coarse cover.

This account of the Academy of Sciences should not be closed without mentioning the Celestial Sphere, or Globe of Gottorp, placed in a detached building, to preserve it from fire. It is a large hollow sphere, eleven feet in diameter, containing a table, and seats for twelve persons. The inside represents the visible surface of the heavens: the stars are distinguished, according to their respective magnitudes, by gilded nails. It is set to the meridian of Peterburgh; and, being turned by a curious piece of mechanism, exhibits the true position of the heavens. The outside represents the terrestrial globe. This machine is called the Globe of Gottorp, from the original of that name, which, at the expence of Frederic III. duke of Holstein, was erected at Gottorp by Andrew Bush, under the direction of Adam Olearius\*. It was planned after a design found among the papers of the celebrated Tycho Brahe, and presented by Frederic IV. king of Denmark to Peter the Great, who saw it in 1713, and expressed much

\* Busching Erdbeschreibung, article Gottorp. Acta Pet. for 1777, Part II. p. 7.

satisfaction



satisfaction at its curious structure and mechanism. The carriage of so cumbrous a machine from Gottorp to Peterburgh was attended with great expence and labour. It was conveyed over the snow upon rollers and sledges to Riga, and from thence was sent by sea to the new metropolis \*. This sphere was afterwards erected in the building of the Academy of Sciences, and burnt in 1747. From the iron plates or skeleton, the present globe was constructed, with considerable additions, and placed, in 1751, in its present position. It is of the same size as the original; and is far preferable, because all the modern discoveries in geography and astronomy have been added. The meridian and horizon were formed by Scott, an English mechanic †.

The

\* Motraye's Travels.

† Travellers are too apt, in describing foreign countries, to overlook their own, and to represent many objects as extraordinary and peculiar, which may sometimes be found in greater perfection at home. To avoid the imputation of this partial proceeding, I shall here add, that this astronomical machine is far inferior in size to one erected at Pembroke College, in the university of Cambridge, by the late Dr. Long, master of that society, which is thus described by the Doctor himself:

“ I have, in a room lately built in Pembroke-Hall, erected a sphere of 18 feet diameter, wherein above 30 persons may sit conveniently; the entrance into it is over the south pole, by six steps: the frame of the sphere consists of a number of iron meridians, not complete semicircles, the northern ends of which are screwed to a large round plate of brass, with an hole in the centre of it; through this hole, from a beam in the cieling, comes the north pole, a round

iron

The Academy of Arts was established by Elizabeth, at the suggestion of count Shuvalof, and annexed to the Academy of Sciences : the fund was £.4,000 per annum, and the foundation for 40 scholars. Catharine formed it into a separate institution, enlarged the annual revenue to £.12,000, and augmented the number of scholars to 300 : she also constructed, for the use and accommodation of the members, a large circular building, which fronts the Neva. The scho-

iron rod, about three inches long, and supports the upper parts of the sphere to its proper elevation for the latitude of Cambridge ; the lower part of the sphere, so much of it as is invisible in England, is cut off ; and the lower or southern ends of the meridians, or truncated semicircles, terminate on, and are screwed down to, a strong circle of oak, of about thirteen feet diameter, which, when the sphere is put into motion, runs upon large rollers of lignum vitæ, in the manner that the tops of some wind-mills are made to turn round. Upon the iron meridians is fixed a zodiac of tin painted blue, whereon the ecliptic and heliocentric orbits of the planets are drawn, and the constellations and stars traced : the great and little Bear and Draco are already painted in their places round the north pole ; the rest of the constellations are proposed to follow : the whole is turned round with a small winch, with as little labour as it takes to wind up a jack, though the weight of the iron, tin, and wooden circle, is about a thousand pounds. When it is made use of, a planetarium will be placed in the middle thereof. The whole, with the floor, is well supported by a frame of large timber."

Since the above was written, the sphere has been completely finished ; and all the constellations and stars of the northern hemisphere, visible at Cambridge, are painted in their proper places upon plates of iron joined together, which form one concave surface.

lars



lars are admitted at the age of fix, continue until they have attained that of eighteen ; and are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, the French and German languages, and drawing. At the age of fourteen they are at liberty to chuse any of the following arts, divided into four classes. 1. Painting, in all its branches of history, portraits, battles, and landscapes ; architecture ; Mosaic ; enamelling ; &c. 2. Engraving on copper-plates, seal-cutting, &c. 3. Carving in wood, ivory, and amber. 4. Watch-making, turning, instrument-making, casting statues in bronze and other metals, imitating gems and medals in compositions, gilding, and varnishing.

Prizes are annually distributed to those who excel in any particular art ; and from those who have obtained four prizes, twelve are selected, who are sent abroad at the charge of the empress. A certain sum is paid to defray their travelling expences ; and when they are settled in any town, they receive an annual salary of £.60, which is continued during four years. There is a small assortment of paintings for the use of the scholars ; and those who have made great progress are permitted to copy the pictures in the imperial collection. There are also models in plaister of the best antique statues in Italy, all executed at Rome, of the same size with the originals, which the artists of the Academy were employed to cast

cast in bronze. We observed several finished pieces of drawing, painting, and sculpture, which had much merit, and seemed to predict the future improvement of the arts in Russia.

Though this institution is admirably calculated for promoting the liberal arts, and deserves the highest encomiums, we must not be surpris- ed on considering the small effects which have hitherto flowed from this endowment. The scho- lars, for the most part, make a considerable pro- gress during their continuance in the academy, and many improve themselves abroad. It is remarkable, however, that the persons of the greatest merit often settle in other countries; or, if they return, soon sink into an indolence, which appears almost national. The cause of this fai- lure seems to proceed from the little encourage- ment which they receive from the nation in ge- neral. The sovereign may rear artists, like fo- reign plants in a hot bed, at a prodigious ex- pence, and by constant cultivation; but unless the same care is continued when they are brought to maturity, they will sicken by neglect. And it is impossible even for a monarch, however in- clined to protect merit, or for a few of the nobi- lity who follow such an illustrious example, to diffuse a love for the works of art among a peo- ple who must first imbibe a degree of taste, which can only be acquired by experience: and



if those who excel are not distinguished, they cannot feel that noble spirit of emulation which excites to excellence. As the nation, however, is gradually drawing towards a higher state of civilization and refinement; these institutions must be productive of more extensive and permanent effects.

The Free Oeconomical Society, or the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, at Peterburgh, owes its origin to the following occasion: The empress one day at table expressing herself with warmth on the advantages that would result from such a society, first suggested the idea to prince Orlof, who happened to be present. In conformity to the wishes of his imperial mistress, he and fourteen other persons, men of rank and learning, assembled in June 1765, drew up rules, formed themselves into a regular society, and laid the plan before the empress, who signified her approbation by an answer, written with her own hand.

“ The design which you have just formed for the improvement of agriculture and husbandry, is highly agreeable to us; and your labours will be regarded as effectual proofs of a true zeal and love for your country. We consider the plan and the regulations, by which you have bound yourselves, as deserving our approbation, and we graciously allow you to be called The Free Oeconomical

conomical Society. You may rest assured, that we take your society under our protection: we not only consent that you use our seal and imperial coat of arms; but, as a particular mark of our good will towards you, we permit you to bear our device in the centre of our imperial arms; namely, a hive, to which bees are bringing honey, with the motto ‘Profitably.’

“We gratify, moreover, your society with 6,000 roubles, towards the purchase of a convenient house, as well for your meeting, as for the purpose of holding a library on subjects of agriculture. Your labours will, under the protection of Divine Providence, be highly advantageous to you and your posterity; and we will not fail, in proportion as your zeal displays itself, to increase our good-will.

“October 31, 1765.

CATHARINE.”

The society consists of a president, who is changed every four months, and of an indefinite number of members. The candidate for admission must be proposed by three members, and is rejected or admitted by the majority of the persons present. The society is chiefly supported by the voluntary contributions of its members, whose number, in 1781, amounted to 179. The assembly meets regularly once a week, when the papers on agriculture and similar subjects are read. Those which are thought worthy of pub-



lication are printed at the expence of the empress, for the profit of the society. The work is sold at a low price; and twelve copies are forwarded *gratis* to the governors of each province, to be distributed in the several governments. The Transactions are either written or translated into the Russian language, and printed in octavo.

The society gives annual prizes, consisting of gold and silver medals, or money, sometimes to the amount of £.140, for the best solutions of certain questions relative to agriculture, and for improvements in husbandry. The empress, in the true spirit of this institution, sends several young men into England, to study practical agriculture. They are chiefly recommended to Arthur Young, Esq. who has distinguished himself by many excellent works on various branches of husbandry; and who was elected in the most honourable manner a member of this society.

In Petersburg are two seminaries for the education of the nobility; the *Corps de Cadets* for males, and the *Le Couvent des Demoiselles Nobles*, for females.

The house appropriated for the seminary of the cadets, was formerly a palace belonging to prince Mentchikof, situated in the Vassili Ostrof, and contains, including the cadets, at least 2,000 persons. This institution owes its origin to the empress.

empress Anne, by the advice of marshal Muncie, but has been so much improved, and the fund so considerably enlarged, by Catharine II. that her majesty may almost be called its foundress. The annual income is £.30,000, for the reception of 600 boys.

In November 1778, there were 480 nobles, and 64 gymnasiasts, or children of inferior ranks, who are designed to be tutors to noblemen's children, and are instructed in classical literature. The nobles are chiefly intended for the army, and are dressed in uniforms; a few excepted, who follow a civil line. The children are admitted at the age of six, and remain fifteen years: they are divided into five classes, and learn French, German, arithmetic, fortification, tactics, history, geography. They also receive lessons in dancing, fencing, and riding, and some in drawing and music. The boys whose genius prompts them to such studies, are provided with masters in the Latin, English, and Tartar tongues. The cadets are divided into companies; and regularly trained to military exercises. During six weeks in summer they form an encampment near the town, are reviewed, and perform all the manœuvres of war. Prizes of books, gold and silver medals, ribbands, and stars, are annually distributed among those who excel, as well in their respective studies and employments, as in their exercises.



cifes. Of those whose merit has entitled them to fix prizes, three are annually selected to travel, with an allowance to each of £.120 per annum.

The boys are brought up in the hardiest manner; they are not, even in winter, clad in furs, nor always indulged in the use of stoves. They are habituated to all kinds of exercise, and particularly to running and leaping. I saw some of the largest cadets engaged in these manly diversions. At the further end of a large hall stood a leathern horse, the highest part of which was at least six feet. They leaped over it in every direction, sprang over the head, vaulted into the seat, turned themselves round on it, poised themselves on their hands, with their head on the saddle and their feet in the air, and then threw themselves from that posture upon the floor on their legs; with other feats, which they performed with as much ease and agility as the most expert tumblers. These exercises are of great use in stretching their limbs, opening their chests, and rendering them robust and active. In every department great attention is paid to cleanliness, and the boys are remarkably healthy. Once or twice in winter, the cadets are permitted to give a masquerade and ball to the principal nobility, on which occasion, some of the young ladies from the female seminary are generally invited as partners for the upper boys. One of these

these entertainments, at which we were present, was conducted with great elegance and propriety.

The seminary for the education of the female nobility, usually called *Le Couvent des Demoiselles Nobles*, is situated at the extremity of the suburbs of Alexander Nevski. The edifice, which is a large quadrangular building, was erected by Elizabeth for a nunnery; but was converted by Catharine to its present use, and endowed with a salary of £16,000 per annum. It was first opened in 1764, for the reception of children: the foundation is for 200 nobles; and 240 *bourgeoises*, or children of lower rank. To these the empress has added 50 supernumerary nobles, called *pensionnaires*; and Mr. Betskoi, the humane director of all these useful societies for education, supports 40 *bourgeoises* at his own expence. The girls are admitted between the age of five and six, and quit the seminary about eighteen. Formerly the young ladies and the *bourgeoises* were brought up in the same manner, without the least attention to difference of rank and fortune; but this plan is wisely amended, and they now receive an education more adapted to their respective situations in life.

They are both divided into four classes. The first class is habited in white, the second in light



brown, the third in green, and the lowest in chocolate. The dress of the *bourgeoises* is coarser than that of the young ladies: the first class of whom wear also black handkerchiefs and green aprons; while the *bourgeoises* are clothed entirely in white. They all learn reading, writing, accounts, and needle-work. The young ladies are separately instructed in history and geography, and acquire, beside a grammatical knowledge of their native tongue, the French, German, and Italian languages, and receive lessons in dancing, music, and drawing, according to the bent of their genius. Instead of these accomplishments, the *bourgeoises* are employed in the management of household affairs; they prepare and wash their own linen, are taught to make bread, and trained to the art of cookery. One of the apartments was hung with the designs, paintings, charts, genealogical tables, and other trophies which displayed the ingenuity of the young ladies. Those who distinguish themselves, receive annual presents, consisting chiefly of ribbands, which are worn in bows at their sides.

On the day in which we visited this noble foundation, a hundred poor women dined in the hall, and were attended by the young ladies, who distributed to each person a small silver coin, and a few yards of linen. This ceremony was instituted to inculcate in their tender minds

an attention to the poor, and a readiness to relieve distress.

The quadrangular building contains an elegant theatre, in which the young ladies occasionally act plays. We were present at a representation, and were greatly entertained with the performance. The theatre is a circular room, neatly painted with trees in imitation of a landscape, and seemed capable of containing 400 spectators. The pieces were, *La Servante Maitresse*, and *L'Oracle*, both performed in the French tongue; the first by young ladies of sixteen or seventeen years of age, and the last by others of ten or twelve. Both parties acted with spirit, and displayed great propriety in gesture and elocution. I was greatly astonished at the purity with which they pronounced the French tongue. The representation was concluded by a ballet, and various dances, adapted to the ages and strength of the several performers. The national dance was introduced; it is executed by two persons, who continue nearly on the same spot, but use a variety of movements with the arms, body, and head, while their shoulders are elevated and depressed in exact measure. It is expressive of a courtship; first languishing looks, coyness, refusal, and invitation; at length the two dancers, having once or twice changed places, make a couple of circles briskly, and conclude with an embrace.

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The play was followed by a ball and supper, to which were admitted several of the nobility and foreign gentlemen, and a few of the cadets. At twelve a collation was served on several tables, at which parties promiscuously ranged themselves. As I was walking about the room, one of the young ladies observing a foreigner unprovided with a seat, quitted the table where she was sitting, and politely invited me to make one of her party, an invitation I immediately accepted. I withdrew, with the rest of the company, at two o'clock in the morning, highly delighted with the ease and innocent vivacity of my fair entertainers, whose politeness and affability bespoke the elegant spirit of the institution.

## C H A P. 7.

Anecdotes of Professor Pallas.—His travels and works.—Circumstances of Dr. Samuel Gmelin's death.—Memoirs of Guldenstaedt.—His travels into Georgia and Imeretia.—Reception at the courts of the princes Heraclius and Solomon.—Works of Guldenstaedt.

**T**HE \* eminent naturalist and traveller, Peter Simon Pallas, is son of Simon Pallas, a native of Johannisburgh in Prussia, who was professor of surgery at Berlin, and distinguished himself among the writers of physic, by a Treatise on the Operations of Surgery, published in 1763; and by a Supplement on the Diseases of the Bowels, in 1770, in which year he died, at the age of 76.

Peter Simon Pallas was born at Berlin, on the 22d of September 1741. He received the early part of his education from private tutors in his father's house, under whom he made an astonishing progress. Among the preceptors, to whom

\* I am indebted to Mr. Pallas himself, for many anecdotes of his early life, and for some part of the remaining account of the learned professor to my ingenious friend Dr. Pulteney, well known to the public by his "General View of the Writings of Linnæus."



the great naturalist expresses his particular obligations, must be distinguished John Martin Sheyling, who behaved to him more like a friend than a master. Sheyling being not an inelegant writer, and particularly attached to poetry, the young scholar imbibed from his master's instructions and example a taste for poetry, and composed several pieces in verse, which have been given to the public. To the same person he was likewise indebted to a very early attachment to entomology. Being destined to study physic so early as the 13th year of his age, he attended a course of lectures on anatomy, physiology, botany, medicine, and surgery, under professors Meckel, Sproegel, Gleditch, Rolof, and his father, and applied himself with great assiduity to anatomical dissections. He made such rapid advances in these branches of science, that, in the beginning of 1758, he was enabled to read a course of public lectures on anatomy, which every subject, who practises physic in the Prussian dominions, is obliged to give, as a proof of his proficiency. Yet, although thus occupied in his professional labours, his indefatigable genius still found leisure to pursue the study of insects, and other branches of zoology, for which he seems at an early period to have conceived a predilection, and in which he eminently excels.

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In the autumn M. Pallas repaired to the university of Halle, where he attended the lectures of the celebrated Segner on mathematics and physics, and improved his knowledge of mineralogy in the environs of that city.

In the spring of 1759, he removed to Gottingen; and, although a long and dangerous illness prevented him from prosecuting his studies with his usual ardour; yet he reaped great benefit from the instructions of the physicians Roederer and Vogel, and improved his general knowledge by his access to the public library.

During his residence at Gottingen, he made numerous experiments on the effect of poisons and other violent remedies, applied himself to the dissection of animals, and formed repeated observations on the worms which breed in the intestines, on which subject he composed an ingenious treatise, under the title of *De infestis viventibus intra viventia*, describing with singular accuracy those worms which are found in the human body.

In July 1760, he was attracted to the university of Leyden by the fame of the celebrated physicians and naturalists Albinus, Gaubius, and Muschenbroek; and by them he was noticed as a young man of promising genius and indefatigable ardour. His talents particularly recommended him to the favour of Gaubius, the principal



cipal professor. In December he took his doctor's degree, and distinguished himself by an inaugural dissertation, in which he defended, by new experiments, the dissertation on worms, composed at Gottingen.

During his residence at Leyden, natural history became his predominant pursuit; he employed all the time which he could steal from his professional studies in visiting the public and private cabinets of natural history, with which Leyden abounded, and was particularly charmed with the collection of Gronovius.

Having visited the principal cities of Holland, he directed his course to London, where he arrived in July 1761, with a view to improve his knowledge of medicine and surgery. But he was now so much absorbed in his passion for natural history, that he neglected every other pursuit, and devoted himself to this favourite branch of science. He seemed to have no other occupation by day than to examine the various collections, and to peruse the principal books which he could procure on the subject of natural history; nay, so eager was he in these pursuits, that he frequently employed the greater part of the night, and occasionally even whole nights together, whenever he met with any new publication, which awakened his curiosity. With a view of extending his knowledge, he took several  
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ral journies to the sea coasts, and particularly in Suffex ; and I have often heard him lament with regret, that the scantiness of his income did not permit him to extend his researches to the principal parts of Great Britain.

Being at length summoned by his father to Berlin, he quitted London with regret in April 1762, and repaired to Harwich to embark immediately for Holland ; but being fortunately detained for several days by contrary winds, he examined the sea-coast, and collected various marine productions. On the 13th of May, he landed in Holland ; and, passing through the Hague, Leyden, Amsterdam, and the circle of Westphalia, arrived at Berlin on the 12th of June.

To commence the practice of his profession, his father sent him to Hanover for the purpose of procuring the place of surgeon in the allied army ; but on his arrival in July, the peace being nearly concluded, he returned to Berlin. He there passed a year, which he chiefly employed in preparing materials for a *Fauna Insectorum Marchica* ; or a Description of the Insects in the March of Brandenburg ; the manuscript of which now remains unpublished in the possession of professor Sandfort, at Leyden, because the author diffidently esteemed it unworthy of publication.

Animated



Animated by his predilection for natural history, he extorted his father's consent to settle in Holland, and arrived in September at the Hague, where he obtained a settlement through the recommendation of Gaubius.

His reputation as a man of science being established, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and member of the academy *Des Curieux de le Nature*; to both of which societies he had previously sent some interesting papers.

His intimacy with the most celebrated naturalists in Holland, particularly with those of the Hague, who had just established a literary society; the free access which he had to the museum of the prince of Orange, and other curious cabinets; the systematic catalogues of those collections which he drew up, several of which he gave to the public, contributed to advance his knowledge of natural productions in the various parts of the globe; and to furnish him such materials as gave birth to those accurate compositions which have deservedly distinguished him as the first zoologist of Europe. One of his first works in this branch of science, which rendered him eminently conspicuous, was *Elenchus Zoophytorum*.

The attention which Pallas bestowed on the Zoophytes, or animal-plants, in the investigation

tion of the worms infesting the human body, particularly the uncommon nature of the *tænia*, or tape-worm, as he acknowledges, seems to have led him into this line of natural science. In this work, which is printed in octavo, after treating on the nature of these animals in a general way, and giving the various opinions of authors relating to the place they ought to hold in the System of Nature, he describes, from his own inspection, more than 270 species of those worms and animalcules, which are known under the generical names of polypes, corals, madrepores, corallines, sea-pens, *tænia*, or tape-worm, sponges, sea-fans, &c.

The free access which he had to the museum of the prince of Orange, and other curious collections in Holland, enabled him to enrich his work with the description of various productions, brought from both Indies. He has described each species at large, and given it a new name, characteristic of its real distinctions; and (what especially increases the value of his work) he has extricated, as far as possible, the synonyms of former authors, both ancient and modern; thus rendering his book highly useful to those who are curious in this branch of natural history.

In a dedication to his *Miscellanea Zoologica*, published in the same year, the author lays be-



fore the Prince of Orange a plan for a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and to the other Dutch settlements in the East Indies; and which, impelled by an ardour of scientific knowledge, he offered to undertake and superintend. This plan, calculated to improve our acquaintance with the natural history of those regions, was strongly recommended by Gaubius, and approved by the prince; but was obstructed by the author's father, who recalled him to Berlin.

Pallas, with great reluctance, quitted Holland in November 1766; and on his return to Berlin, he arranged his numerous materials for the public. But he had, scarcely begun to publish his *Spicilegia Zoologica*, before he was invited by the empress Catharine II. to accept the professorship of natural history in the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Although in this instance his father and relations again withheld their consent; yet the author's ardent zeal for his favourite science, and an irresistible desire to visit regions so little known, and abounding in the productions of nature, induced him to hasten his departure for a country, where his curiosity was likely to be amply gratified. He accordingly quitted Berlin in June 1767, and arrived at Petersburg on the 10th of August.

He made his appearance among the Rus-  
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fians at a critical period. The empress had already ordered the Academy of Sciences to send astronomers into various parts of the Russian empire, to observe the transit of Venus over the sun's disk, in 1769. Being just returned from a voyage down the Volga, and from visiting the interior provinces of European Russia, the enlightened sovereign had perceived the deficiency of the topographical accounts, and anticipated the advantage of deputing learned men to visit the distant provinces of her extensive dominions, with a view to enlarge the bounds of science, and spread the knowledge of useful arts among the natives. For this purpose Catharine had directed the Academy to send, in company with the astronomers, the most able naturalists and philosophers. Pallas having offered to accompany this expedition, was charged with drawing up general instructions for the naturalists, and gratified with the choice of his associates. To him was submitted, at his own request, the conduct of the expedition to the east of the Volga, and towards the extreme parts of Siberia; and he was best calculated for that expedition, as the elder Gmelin, his precursor in those regions, had almost entirely neglected zoology. Pallas employed the winter in forming a systematic catalogue of the animals in the cabinet of the Academy; in putting into order the



celebrated collection of professor Breyn of Dantzic, lately purchased by prince Orlof; in preparing for the press six numbers of his *Spicilegia Zoologica*, which were printed during his absence under the direction of Dr. Martin, and in forming the necessary arrangements for his expedition.

At length, in June 1768, he quitted Peterburgh, in company with Messrs. Falk, Lepekin, and Guldenstaedt, as his associates, passed through Moscow, Vlodimir, Kasimof, Murom, Arfamas, to Casan; and having examined great part of that province, wintered at Simbirsk. From thence he departed in March; and penetrated through Samara, and Orenburgh, as far as Gurief; a small Russian fortress, situated at the mouth of the river Yaic, or Ural. There he examined the confines of Calmuc Tartary, and the neighbouring shores of the Caspian; and, returning through the province of Orenburgh, passed the second winter at Ufa. After several expeditions in the adjacent regions, he left Ufa on the 16th of May 1770, prosecuted his route through the Uralian mountains to Catharinenburgh, visited the mines, proceeded to Tcheliabinsk, a small fortress in the government of Orenburgh, and in December made an excursion as far as Tobolsk.

The next year he was employed in traversing  
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the Altai Mountains, and tracing the course of the Irtysh to Omsk and Kolyvan; where having inspected the celebrated silver-mines, he proceeded to Tomsk, and finished that year's expedition at Krasnojarsk, a town upon the Yenisei. In that place, situated only in the 56th degree of north latitude, the cold was so intense, that the learned professor was witness to the natural congelation of quicksilver, which curious phenomenon he has minutely described \*.

From Krasnojarsk Pallas departed on the 7th of March 1772, and proceeded by Irkutsk, and across the Lake Baikal, to Udinsk, Selenginsk, and Kiakta, which is the principal mart of trade between Russia and China. Having penetrated into that part of Dauria which is situated in the south-eastern region of Siberia, he journeyed between the rivers Ingoda and Argoon, at no great distance from the Amoor; thence tracing the lines which separate the Russian empire from the Mongol hordes dependent on China, he returned to Selenginsk, and again wintered at Krasnojarsk. In the summer of 1773, he visited Tara, Yaitsk, and Astracan; and concluded that year's route at Tzaritzin, a town upon the Vol-

\* See Pallas Reise, P. III. p. 417—419; and a translation of this remarkable passage, in V. I. p. 227 of Chemical Essays, by Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff.



ga; from whence he continued his journey in the ensuing spring, and arrived at Petersburgh on the 30th of July 1774, after an absence of six years.

The account of this extensive and interesting tour was published in three parts \*, containing 2004 pages, in five volumes quarto, which has greatly contributed to extend his fame and establish his character. Pallas, in this valuable work, has entered into a geographical and topographical description of the provinces, towns, and villages which he visited in his tour, accompanied with an accurate account of their antiquities, history, productions, and commerce. He has discriminated many of the tribes who wander over the various districts, and near the confines of Siberia; detailed, with peculiar precision, their customs, manners, and languages; and rendered his travels invaluable to the naturalist, from many important discoveries in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. These travels are written in the German language; but the author has added to each part an appendix in the Latin tongue, which contains near 400 scientific descriptions of several quadrupeds, birds, fish, insects, and plants. He has also

\* *Reise durch verschiedenen Provinzen des Russischen Reichs.* A French translation of this interesting work has also been published.

greatly

greatly contributed to increase the utility of his performance by charts, and engravings of various antiquities, of several Tartar dresses and idols, and of many animals and plants.

Expeditions of this kind into inhospitable regions, among vagrant and almost barbarous nations, are full of danger; as was sufficiently experienced by Muller, and Gmelin the elder, in the reign of the empress Anne; and nothing but the most intense ardour for science can stimulate men to such hazardous undertakings. In that expedition De l'Isle and Steller perished; and, as if these schemes were destined to ill fate, Dr. S. Gmelin, after having lost many of his papers and collections, sunk under grief and disease, and expired in a small village of Mount Caucasus, in 1774. Falk died in the course of the journey, and professor Lowitz was wantonly massacred by the inhuman Pugatchef.

Pallas fortunately returned, but, from the manner in which he finishes his travels, not without enduring many hardships, and narrowly escaping from the most imminent dangers. “ On the 30th of July I reached Peterburgh, with an enfeebled body and grey hairs, though only in the three-and-thirtieth year of my age; but yet much stronger than when I was in Siberia; and full of grateful acknowledgments to Providence,



for having preserved and delivered me from numberless perils."

Pallas, known to the generality of the English readers only as a great naturalist, deserves a considerable place among those writers who have succeeded in developing the complicated history of the roving tribes scattered over those extensive regions which stretch from the heart of Siberia, to the northern limits of India. In a recent publication, intitled, *Collections upon the Political, Physical, and Civil History of the Mongol Tribes* \*, he has thrown new light upon the annals of a people, whose ancestors conquered Russia, China, Persia, and Indostan; and, at more than one period, established, perhaps, as large an empire as ever was possessed by a single nation. The materials for this publication he collected, partly during an intercourse with the Mongols, Burats, and Calmucs, and partly from the communications of Muller and Gmelin.

Hitherto most authors who have written upon these Asiatic hordes, have called them all indiscriminately by the name of Tartars; but this erroneous appellation is rectified by Pallas, who proves unquestionably that the Mongol tribes are

\* *Samlungen Hist. Nachrichten ueber Mongolischen Volkerchaften.*

a distinct

a distinct race from the Tartars ; differing from them in features, language, and government, and resembling them in nothing but in their inclination to a roving life. This primitive nation of Asia, whose origin, history, and present state form the subject of this interesting work, dates its celebrity from their founder Zinghis Khan. When his vast dominions fell to pieces under his successors in the 16th century, the Mongol and Tartar hordes, who composed one empire, again separated, and have since continued distinct and independent. The Mongol hordes Pallas divides into three principal branches, Mongols, Oerats or Calmucs, and Burats ; which he describes with that precision and accuracy which distinguish all his writings.

In the same year in which the professor printed his *Elenchus Zoophytorum*, he also published a treatise under the title of *Miscellanea Zoologica quibus novæ imprimis atque obscuræ Animalium Species describuntur, et Observationibus Iconibusque illustrantur*. This work was incorporated into a subsequent publication, the next year on his return to Berlin, intitled, *Spicilegia Zoologica* ; which has been continued in numbers, or *fasciculi*, at uncertain periods, until 1780, when the 14th was delivered. It contains, besides the letter-press, 72 plates, and reflects the highest credit on the author, as a most careful observer



observer and critic in zoology. The works of Buffon amply testify the labours of Pallas in the supplementary volumes, and Pennant makes frequent acknowledgments of his obligations to the same source, particularly for his History of Quadrupeds and Arctic Zoology.

In June 1777 the learned professor read before the Academy of Petersburgh, in a meeting at which the king of Sweden was present, a Dissertation on the Formation of Mountains, and the Changes which this Globe has undergone, particularly in the Russian empire. This curious treatise, written in the French tongue, was printed at St. Petersburgh; and a translation of it is given by Mr. Tooke in his *Russia Illustrata*.

In 1778 he published *Novæ Species Quadrupedum e Glirium Ordine*. This performance, printed at Erlang in quarto, contains 27 plates, and describes numbers of the rat genus, and their anatomy. In 1781 he brought out *Enumeratio Plantarum quæ in Horto Procopii à Demidof Moscuâ vigent* (Pet. octavo); or, Catalogue of the Plants in Mr. Demidof's Gardens at Moscow; and in the same year he gave to the public two volumes, in octavo, of an interesting work in the German tongue, called, *Neue Nordische Beytrage*, &c. or New Northern Collections on various subjects of Geography, Natural History,

History, and Agriculture, which have been followed by five additional volumes.

In 1782 he put forth two *fasciculi*, or numbers, of *Icones Insectorum præsertim Russiæ Siberiæque peculiarium*, &c. quarto, Erlang; or, Figures of Insects, principally of those which are peculiar to Russia and Siberia, accompanied with descriptions and illustrations. These two numbers treat of the *scarabæi*, *curculiones*, *tenebriones*, *bupestres*, *meloedes*, *cerambyces*, with six plates, containing coloured figures of 180 insects of those genera.

In 1784 he published the first number of a *Flora Russica* \*; or a Description of the Plants of the whole Russian empire; a splendid work, which was executed at the empress's expence, and owes its origin to the following circumstance: Her majesty inquiring of Pallas the Russian names of several plants, the author sent some dried specimens, which he accompanied with a short description of each plant, and a dissertation on their uses. Catharine, pleased with the method, ordered him to describe in the same manner the botany of the whole empire, and to spare no expence in the execution of the work. The second number came out in 1789.

\* The botanical reader is referred to the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1785, for a scientific account of the *Flora Russica*; of which no other recommendation need be given, than that it was written by Dr. Pulteney.



The revifal of a curious, though lefs interesting publication, which fhews the verfatility of the author's talents, unfortunately contributed to delay the completion of the *Flora Ruffica* and his zoological refearches; this work is an univerfal vocabulary, of which he fuperintended the impreffion, and which the empress of Ruffia collected from all quarters of the globe.

Exclusive of thefe feparate publications, he has printed in the *Acts* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, various zoological and botanical differtations, which prove his accurate knowledge of natural hiftory.

It cannot but be pleafing to the lovers of fcience to be informed, that Pallas has been diftinguifhed with a mark of imperial favour, being appointed member of the board of mines, with an additional falary of £.200 per annum, and honoured with the order of St. Volodimir. The empress alfo purchafed his ample collection of natural hiftory, in a manner highly flattering to the author, and honourable to herfelf. Being informed that he was defirous to difpofe of that collection, her majesty fent word, that her country fhould not be deprived of fo curious a cabinet; that fhe would be the purchafers, and ordered him to make out the catalogue, and fix the price. He accordingly named fifteen thou-  
fand

land roubles\*. Having examined the catalogue, she added with her own hand, "Mr. Pallas understands natural history much better than figures; he ought to have charged 20,000 instead of 15,000 roubles for so many valuable articles. The empress, however, takes upon herself to correct the mistake, and hereby orders her treasurer to pay 20,000 roubles. At the same time Mr. Pallas shall not be deprived of his collection, which shall still continue to be in his own possession during his life, as he so well understands how to render it most useful to mankind."

As the care of putting into order and publishing the papers of Gmelin and Guldenstaedt is consigned to Pallas, I shall close this chapter with a short account of those learned professors.

Dr. Samuel Gmelin, professor at Tubingen, and afterwards member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, commenced his travels in June 1768, and having traversed the provinces of Moscow, Voronetz, New Russia, Azof, Casan, and Astracan, visited, in 1770 and 1771, the different harbours of the Caspian, and examined those parts of Persia which border upon that sea, of which he has given a cir-

\* Pallas has settled in Crim Tartary, or Taurida, on an estate granted by the empress; he has lately published the first volume of a description of that country.



cumstantial account in the three volumes of his travels already published. Animated with a zeal for extending his observations, he attempted to pass through the western provinces of Persia, which are in a perpetual state of warfare, and infested by numerous banditti.

He quitted, in April 1772, Einzelle, a small trading place in Ghilan, on the southern shore of the Caspian, but, on account of many difficulties and dangers, did not, until the second of December 1773, reach Sallian, a town situated at the mouth of the river Koor. From thence he proceeded to Baku and Kuba, in the province of Shirvan; where he met with a friendly reception from Ali Feth Khan, the sovereign of that district. After he had been joined by twenty Uralian Cossacs, and when he was only four days journey from the Russian fortrefs Kislar, he and his companions were, on the 5th of February 1774, arrested by order of Ufmèi Khan, a petty Tartar prince, through whose territories he was obliged to pass. Ufmèi urged, as a pretence for this arrest, that thirty years before several families had escaped from his dominions, and found an asylum in the Russian territories; adding, that Gmelin should not be released until these families were restored. The professor was removed from prison to prison, till wearied out with continual persecutions, he expired on the 27th of July at Achmet-

Achmet-Kent, a village of Mount Caucasus. His death was occasioned partly by vexation for the loss of several papers and collections, and partly by disorders contracted from the fatigues of his long journey. Some of his papers were sent to Kislar during his imprisonment; and the others were rescued from the hands of the barbarian who detained him in captivity\*.

John Anthony Guldenstaedt was born at Riga, on the 26th of April 1745, received the rudiments of his education in that town, and in 1763 was admitted into the medical college of Berlin. He completed his studies at Franckfort upon the Oder, and in 1767 received the degree of doctor of physic in that university. On account of his knowledge of foreign languages, and progress in natural history, he was considered as a fit person to engage in the expeditions planned by the Imperial Academy. Being invited to Peterburgh, he arrived in that city in 1768, was created adjunct of the Academy, and, in 1770, member of that society, and professor of natural history. In June 1768 he commenced his travels, and was absent seven years. From Moscow, where he continued till March 1769, he passed to Voronetz, Tzaritzin, Astracan, and Kislar, a fortress on the western

\* See Bach. Russ. Bibl. for 1775, p. 50.



shore of the Caspian, and close to the confines of Persia. In 1770 he examined the districts watered by the rivers Terek, Sunsha, and Alkfai, in the eastern extremity of Caucasus, and in the course of the ensuing year penetrated into Osetia, in the highest part of the same mountain, where he collected vocabularies of the language, made inquiries into the history of the people, and discovered some traces of Christianity among them. Having visited Cabarda, and the northern chain of the Caucasus, he proceeded to Georgia, and was admitted to an audience of prince Heraclius\*, who was encamped about ten miles from Tefflis.

The

\* Prince Heraclius, or, as he was called, the tzar Iracli, who made so bold a stand against the Turks in the last war between the Porte and Russia, and possessed all Georgia, Kaketi, and the two small districts of Borthal and Kofak, which were ceded to him by Nadir Shah, was then above sixty years old, of a middle size, with a long countenance, a dark complexion, large eyes, and a small beard. He passed his youth at the court and in the army of the celebrated Nadir Shah, where he contracted a fondness for Persian customs and manners, which he introduced into his kingdom. He had seven sons and six daughters. He was much revered and dreaded by the Persian khans, his neighbours, and usually chosen to mediate between them in their disputes with each other. When they were at war, he supported one of the parties with a few troops, who diffused a spirit and courage among the rest, because the Georgian soldiers were esteemed the bravest of those parts, and prince Heraclius himself was renowned for his courage and military skill. When on horseback he always had a pair of loaded pistols at his girdle,

The professor accompanied prince Heraclius in a campaign along the banks of the river Koor, 80 miles into the interior part of Georgia; and returned with him to Teflis. All the houses of that capital are of stone, with flat roofs, which serve, according to the custom of the East, as walks for the women. The buildings are neat and clean, but the streets are exceedingly dirty and narrow. The town contains one Roman Catholic, thirteen Greek, and seven Armenian churches. Having passed the winter at Teflis, and in examining the adjacent country, he followed in spring the prince to the province of Kaketia, and explored the southern districts inhabited by the Turcoman Tartars, and subject to Heraclius, in the company of a Georgian mag-

girdle, and, if the enemy was near, a musket slung over his shoulder. In all engagements he was the foremost to give examples of personal bravery, and frequently charged the enemy at the head of his troops. He loved pomp and expence; he adopted the dress of Persia, and regulated his court after the manner of that country. From the example of the Russian troops, who were quartered in Georgia during the last Turkish war, he learnt the use of plates, knives and forks, dishes, and household furniture, &c. Although his revenues were small, scarcely exceeding £.50,000 per annum, yet he contrived to maintain a standing army of about 6,000 men. He was afterwards in close alliance with Russia, and in 1784 one of his sons was colonel of a Cossack regiment. In 1787 he was compelled to renounce his connection with Russia, and to acknowledge himself tributary to the Porte, but died soon afterwards. Georgia has been recently annexed to the Russian empire.



nate, whom he had cured of a dangerous disorder. In July he went to Imeretia, a country which lies between the Caspian and Black Seas, and is bounded on the east by Georgia, on the north by Offetia, on the west by Mingrelia, and on the south by the Turkish dominions, which was under the dominion of the prince or czar Solomon\*.

In the almost unknown dominions of this prince, who, from gratitude to Russia, afforded

\* Solomon, having upon his accession forbidden the scandalous traffic practised by the nobles of selling their peasants, greatly offended the Turks, who gained by that species of commerce. Being by their intrigues driven from his throne, and compelled to find an asylum in the woods and mountains, he lived like a wild man, for sixteen years, in caverns and holes, and frequently by his personal courage escaped assassination, until he was reinstated in his dominions by the Russians in the late war. This prince wore usually a coarse dress of a brown colour, with a musket on his shoulder; but on solemn occasions put on a robe of rich gold brocade, and hung round his neck a silver chain. He was distinguished from his subjects by riding upon an ass, perhaps the only one in Imeretia, and by wearing boots. He had no regular troops, but collected a desultory army of 6,000 men, without artillery. These troops were drawn together by the sound of the trumpet: in other respects the prince's orders were issued at the markets, which are held every Friday. One of his servants ascended a tree near the place of meeting, and proclaimed the edict with a loud voice. His subjects were of the Greek religion. Solomon died of the plague in 1784, and was succeeded by his nephew David, who threw himself under the protection of Russia. During my continuance at Petersburg in the winter of 1784, his ambassadors were introduced to the empress, and in the eastern style of homage, threw themselves on the ground at her feet.

Guldenstaedt

Guldenstaedt every assistance in his power, the professor penetrated into the middle chain of Mount Caucasus; visited the confines of Mingrelia, Middle Georgia, and Eastern and Lower Imeretia, and, after escaping many imminent dangers from banditti, fortunately returned to Kislar on the 18th of November, where he passed the winter, collecting various information concerning the neighbouring Tartar tribes of the Caucasus, and particularly the Lefgees. In the summer he journeyed to Cabarda Major, continued his course to Mount Beshtan, the highest point of the first ridge of the Caucasus, inspected the mines of Madshar, and went to Tcherkask upon the Don. From thence he made expeditions to Azof and Taganroc, and then along the new limits to the Dnieper: he finished this year's route at Krementshuk, in the government of New Russia. In the ensuing spring he was proceeding to Crim Tartary; but receiving an order of recal, returned through the Ukraine to Moscow and Peterburgh, where he arrived in March 1775\*.

\* For an account of Guldenstaedt, see Russ. Bib. vol. I. p. 49. 102. 301. 548. Vol. II. p. 221. 456. Vol. III. p. 72. 421. Hist. des Decouvertes, &c. Introd. p. 27 and Nachricht von den Lebens-Umstanden des Herrn Prof. Guldenstaedt, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781.



On his return he was employed in arranging his papers; but, before he could finish them for the press, was seized with a violent fever, which proved mortal, and carried him to the grave in the month of March 1781.

## C H A P. 8.

Introduction of the Sclavonian alphabet into Russia.—Rise and progress of Russian literature.—Historians.—Poets.—Digression concerning the Russian stage.—Russian translations.—Classical learning.

**T**HE invention of the Sclavonian characters is generally attributed to Constantine, a Greek philosopher, afterwards more known by the name of Cyril, which he assumed when he turned monk. About the middle of the 9th century, Cyril and his brother Methodius were sent from Constantinople by Michael III. to plant the Gospel among the Sclavonian nations inhabiting the countries bordering upon the Danube, now called Hungary and Bulgaria, and those which were settled in Bohemia and Moravia. As those barbarous nations knew not the use of letters, Cyril composed for them an alphabet, and translated several religious books into their tongue. The greater part of the characters were the capitals of the Greek alphabet, the same usually employed in writing; to which he added a few others, in order to express several sounds peculiar to the Sclavonian language.



Most of those Slavonian nations, who received Christianity from the Greeks, and have retained the Greek religion, still make use of these characters; while the other people of that tribe, who were either first converted by the Germans or Italians, or who afterwards adopted the Roman Catholic tenets, employ either the German or Roman alphabet\*.

That tribe of Slavonians, called Russians, when they issued from the banks of the Danube in the ninth century, and laid the foundation of this empire, either brought with them, if they knew the use of letters, the Cyrilian alphabet; or afterwards adopted it, on their conversion to Christianity, when the Slavonian Bible, trans-

\* Beside the Russians, the Slavonians dwelling in Dalmatia, and in the islands under the dominion of Venice, who are of the Greek religion, still use the Cyrilian characters. The same were employed by all the nations of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and others in the Austrian territories; but as the Roman Catholic persuasion has gained ground amongst them, they have lately begun to adopt the Roman letters; while the Slavonian people subject to the Turks, namely, the inhabitants of Albania, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, who are of the Greek religion, preserve the Cyrilian alphabet. The Bohemians, who soon after their first conversion quitted the Greek religion, and were afterwards turned by the Germans to the Roman Catholic sect, use the German or Gothic characters, which were also in use among the Poles, equally indebted to the Germans for the first introduction of Christianity amongst them; but the Poles have lately, in most of their publications, adopted the Roman alphabet. See the preface to the *Neue Slavonisch und Deutsche Grammatik*, printed at Vienna, 1774.

lated by Cyril, was introduced among them. These characters are occasionally written, like the oldest Greek and Roman manuscripts, of equal size, at equal distances, without connection or stops, and without distinction of words.

The earliest Slavonian book ever published was a Russian translation of the Pentateuch, printed in the Cyrilian alphabet at Prague in 1519\*: the same letters were introduced into Russia on the establishment of the first press at Moscow, and continued in use, not only for ecclesiastical publications, but also for all others, until 1707, when some new Russian types, consisting of great and small letters, similar to those which are now employed, were cast at Amsterdam for the printing-house at Moscow†. The language in which the church-service is still performed, is the same which was spoken in the ninth century by the Slavonians settled on the banks of the Danube, in the countries now called Hungary and Bulgaria, from whom the Russians are undoubtedly descended. The translation of the Bible made in that century being still in general use, has ascertained its original, and preserved it in its pristine state; and it is remarkable that the several dialects of Sla-

\* *Essai sur la Bibliothèque*, p. 92.

† See a Specimen of the Russian characters, in vol. II. book 3, chap. 5.



vonian, such as Polish, Russian, and Bohemian, have a greater resemblance to this mother-tongue than to each other\*.

The Cyrillic alphabet employed by the Russian church is composed of 39 characters, some of which contained, according to our mode of spelling; three or even four consonants; but, as now modified in 1707, for common use, is reduced to 30 † letters.

The Slavonian, in its different dialects, is known through a larger extent of country, and spoken by a greater number of people, than perhaps any other language in the world. It is the native tongue in Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, Albania, Dalmatia, different parts of Hungary and Bulgaria, Poland, and Russia: in a word, a traveller acquainted with that language would be understood from the confines of Germany to the Sea of Kamtchatka.

The Russian dialect of the Slavonian, which is said to be extremely rich and harmonious, has not, till lately, undergone any cultivation; having been chiefly confined to affairs of government, ecclesiastical writings, and to unconnected chronicles and journals.

\* Schloetzer Prob. Ruf. An. p. 189.

† Russian Dictionary, 1778. In Charpentiere's Grammar there are 32 characters.

Some authors, in considering the small advances made by the Russians in the arts and sciences, when compared with the progress of the more enlightened nations in Europe, have erroneously attributed this deficiency to the effects of climate, or to an innate want of genius. The latter assertion scarcely deserves a serious refutation; for all intellectual improvement must arise from culture, and the greater or less degree of knowledge must ultimately depend upon the greater or less degree of instruction. Besides, this illiberal reflection is sufficiently refuted by the bare mention of several illustrious Russians, who, amongst many others, might be selected on this occasion: Philaretos and Nikon; Sophia Alexiefna; prince Vassili Galitzin, and Peter the Great; the learned Theophanes; the poets Lomonozof and Sumorokof; and Khereskof; and the present historian, prince Sherebatof.

With respect to the objection, that the genius of this nation has been fettered by the intense cold of the climate, it may be remarked: if climate has an invincible effect upon mankind, where shall we draw the line of the greatest intellectual ability? Shall we suppose a point, in which the human mind is at its greatest perfection, from which, in proportion as it recedes, it gradually



gradually degenerates? Is the influence of climate uniform or casual? If uniform, why is modern Greece no longer the seat of arts and learning? Why was Iceland once the chief repository of northern literature? Why are the Swedes more enlightened than the Russians? and why are not the Russians of Astracan more civilized than those of Peterburgh and Archangel? If the effects of climate are casual, they are then counterbalanced by other circumstances; and it ceases to be a positive criterion of distinction.

Many impediments arise from the government, religion, and particularly from the vassalage of the peasants, which tend to check the diffusion of the arts and sciences, without the necessity of having recourse to a supposed want of genius, or to the effect of climate. But instead of combating theoretical reasonings, which have no foundation in fact or experience, I shall hasten to trace the rise and progress of Russian literature, and take a cursory view of its present state.

While some authors deny the smallest portion of literature to the Russians, and even hold them incapable of any considerable progress in science; others, on the contrary, assert, that they began to be enlightened even at so early a period

riod as during the reigns of Oleg and Igor\*. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis, prove little more than that the Russians in those times were not unacquainted with the art of writing; and that they had composed, or could repeat, a few ancient songs, which celebrated the military exploits of their princes and leaders. But undoubtedly the whole nation was plunged in the grossest ignorance, and in a situation not superior to that of the wandering hordes who now inhabit independent Tartary. It is said of Svatoslaf, the son of Igor †, “ On his march he carried with him no baggage-waggon, no kitchen furniture; his food was the flesh of horses and other animals, just warmed over the fire; he had no tent; his housings served for a

\* Ruric, entered Russia about 862; died 879.

2. OLEG, probably the nephew of Ruric, great-duke or regent during the minority of Igor.

3. IGOR, died 945; married Olga.

4. SVATOSLAF, died 973.

5. YAROPOLK, died 980.

6. VLADIMIR the Great, reigned 980; died 1014.

7. YAROSLAF, 1053.

† Journ. St. Pet. for 1781. Part I. p. 151.

bed,



bed, and his saddle for a pillow; the whole army followed his example." A description which characterizes the chief of an unlettered Scythian tribe, and not the sovereign of a people in whom the smallest traces of the arts were found. And although perhaps the knowledge of the Slavonian alphabet might have been brought into Russia by a few christians, who were drawn to the court by Olga, the wife of Igor; yet the first introduction of literature must be ascribed to Vladimir the Great, on his conversion to Christianity in 988; who instituted schools, and passed a decree\* to regulate the mode of instructing youth. Under the auspices of his son Yaroslav, who ascended the throne in 1018, many learned priests were invited from Constantinople, various Greek books translated into the Russian tongue, and hymns and other poetical versions of the psalms sung in the churches. He also established a seminary at Novogorod for 300 students, and gave to that republic the first code of written laws. This dawn of letters was obscured by subsequent calamities, and succeeded by a long darkness of three centuries, during which the nation was subject to the Tartar yoke. The Christian re-

\* This curious decree still exists in the Russian tongue, and is translated into French by Bachmeister, in his *Essai sur la Bib.* &c. p. 9.

ligion, however, tended in this, as well as in most other countries of Europe, to preserve some small remains of literature in the schools of the monasteries. Each convent fortunately became an asylum for the preservation, though not for the diffusion of knowledge; and in this period of barbarism and ignorance, many monks were distinguished for their erudition.

On the final expulsion of the Tartars by Ivan Vassilievitch I. in the middle of the 15th century, Russia gradually emerged from this state of darkness, and continued improving in civilization and culture, under the patronage of the succeeding sovereigns, particularly Ivan II, Boris Godunof, the two first tzars of the line of Romanof, and the princess Sophia. But it was not till the æra of Peter the Great that letters, which had been chiefly confined to the regular clergy, began to be cultivated by the laity; a sure sign that the nation was advancing to a more general state of improvement.

A review of the lives and works of the most eminent writers, who have contributed to refine the language, and diffuse a taste for science, will assist in tracing the progress of literature, and ascertaining its present state.

In this inquiry I shall confine myself principally to History and Poetry.

Russia can boast the earliest historian of the North;



North; for, at a period when Poland, Sweden, and Denmark were unlettered; when even the annalists of Iceland were mute; a monk of the convent of Petcherski at Kiof was compiling the history of Russia.

This annalist, whose secular name is not known, was born in 1056, at Bielozero, and in the nineteenth year of his age assumed the monastic habit, and took the name of Nestor \*. At Kiof he made a considerable proficiency in the Greek language, but seems to have formed his style and manner rather from the Byzantine historians, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Syncellus, than from the ancient classics. The time of Nestor's death is not ascertained; but he is supposed to have attained an advanced age, and to have died about the year 1115.

His great work is his Chronicle, with an introduction, which contains a short sketch of the early state of the world, taken from the Byzantine writers, a geographical description of Russia, and an account of the Slavonian nations. He then enters upon a chronological series of the Russian annals, from the year 858 to about 1113. His style is simple and un-

\* For the account of Nestor, see principally Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 6; and Schloetzer's *Probe Russische Annalen*; which accurate, and interesting work I have chiefly followed, as the great source of information relative to the early annalists of Russia.

adorned,

adorned, such as suits a mere recorder of facts; but his chronological exactness, though it renders his narrative dry and tedious, contributes to ascertain the æra and authenticity of the events which he relates\*.

\* A competent judge thus expresses himself with regard to this performance:

“Nestor’s chronicle is *unique* in its kind. For all the other Sclavonian people, such as the Poles, Bohemians, Illyrians, &c. cannot produce any writer who can in the smallest degree contend with the Russian annalist in antiquity, minuteness, accuracy, and truth. He was so highly esteemed in Russia, and the subsequent writers were so convinced of his fidelity, that, in speaking of the same times, they adopt his very words, or make only the smallest alterations.

“I will not prejudice the readers in their judgment concerning the authenticity of this annalist; and I am convinced, that whoever peruses his work, will at once do him the justice which he deserves. I allude to those readers only who do not acknowledge any other histories than those which are derived from the most esteemed sources; and who know how to distinguish with critical exactness the purity of those sources. But I do not address myself to those who have not hitherto been acquainted with any other writers on the early times of the Russian history than Herberstein and Petreius; who place the introduction of the art of writing into Russia so late as the 13th century; who hold the succession of Russian sovereigns to be unknown, at least uncertain, until the time of Ivan Vassilievitch; who consider this long period as totally obscure, in which no chronicle affords a clue to the discerning historian; who draw their whole knowledge of Russian history from Strahlenberg, Voltaire, La Combe, and from the still more wretched compilers of the article Russia in the Universal History. These readers will not indeed be easily induced to esteem, as authentic, the relations of a monk, whose writings show the inaccuracy of the above-mentioned authors, and confute at once their whole account of Russia during the middle ages.”  
Schloetzer, Russ. Ann. p. 32.



It is remarkable, that an author of such importance, whose name frequently occurs in the early Russian books, should have remained in obscurity above 600 years, and been scarcely known to his modern countrymen. A copy of his chronicle was given, in 1668, by prince Radzivil to the library of Konigsburgh, where it lay unnoticed until Peter the Great, in his passage through that town, ordered a transcript to be sent to Petersburg. But the author was still unknown, for when Muller, in 1732, published the first part of a German translation \*, he mentioned it as the work of the abbot Theodosius of Kiof. The ingenious editor, not being at that time sufficiently acquainted with the Slavonian tongue, employed an interpreter, who, by mistaking a letter in the title, supposed it written by a person whose name was Theodosius. This ridiculous blunder was soon circulated, and copied by many foreign writers; even long after it was candidly acknowledged and corrected by Muller.

Nestor was successively followed by three annalists; the first was Sylvester, abbot of the con-

\* S. R. G. I. p. 1, &c. The real title to this manuscript was, by the "Monk of the Theodosian Convent of Petcherski;" which the interpreter, by mistaking one letter, explained, The Monk Theodosius, of the Convent, &c. See Schloetzer, p. 16.

vent of St. Michael at Kiof, and bishop of Perislaſ, who died in 1123: he commences his chronicle from 1115, only two years poſterior to that of Neſtor, and continues it to 1123; from which period a monk, whoſe name has not been delivered down to poſterity, carries the hiſtory to 1157; and another, equally unknown, to 1203: With reſpect to theſe performances, Muller informs us, “the labours of Neſtor and his three continuators have produced a connected ſeries of Ruſſian hiſtory ſo complete, that no nation can boaſt a ſimilar treaſure for ſo long and unbroken a period \*.” We may add likewiſe from the ſame authority, that theſe annals record much fewer prodigies and monkish legends, than others which have iſſued from the cloiſter in times ſo unenlightened.

From this period, which terminates in 1203, there is no regular continuation of the Ruſſian hiſtory, but many ſeparate and detached annaliſts; for as the empire was broken into independent principalities, each writer has detailed the events of the particular diſtrict in which he flouriſhed. The next general annaliſt who preſents himſelf to our notice is Cyprian, metropolitan of Ruſſia in the reign of Demetrius Donſki, who began in the 14th century the *Book of Degrees*;

\* S. R. G. V. p. 6.



so called because it arranges the history of the empire, according to the order of *descent*: each degree contains the reign of those sovereigns who followed each other in an uninterrupted line; and a new one commences when the throne passed to a collateral branch. This work was continued by the metropolitan Makari, who flourished under Ivan Vassilievitch II. and afterwards by unknown compilers, to the times somewhat posterior to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch. These writings, unlike those of Nestor and his continuators, contain many idle traditions and absurd legends; but the events which they record, render them the object of the historian's notice; and Muller has thought them of sufficient consequence to become their editor.

The chronicle of the patriarch Nikon, in which he collected a complete series of Russian annalists, from Nestor to the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, and the extraordinary exertions which he made to diffuse knowledge among his countrymen, have been already related.

The reign of Alexèy was extremely fertile in what were called historical productions; but which in reality are rather dry materials than deserving such an honourable appellation. It would be tedious to enumerate the various chronicles, journals of the court, books of genealogy, public

lic records, state-papers, and other familiar sources of information, both of his and succeeding times; which the libraries contain in such abundance as to astonish a stranger, who by false representations may have been misled to conceive that the Russians are deficient in original documents.

Among the persons who, posterior to Nikon, have mostly contributed to promote science by their example and protection, and who may be classed among the historians, must not be omitted Theophanes Prokopovitch, metropolitan archbishop of Novogorod. This learned prelate was the son of a burgher of Kiof; he was born on the 9th of June 1681, and baptized by the name of Elisha. He commenced his studies under his uncle Theophanes, rector of the seminary in the Bratskoi Convent at Kiof, and was well grounded in the rudiments of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues. Though his uncle died in 1692, he completed his education in that seminary, and in the eighteenth year of his age, travelled into Italy. He resided three years at Rome; where, besides a competent knowledge of the Italian, he acquired a taste for the fine arts, and improved himself in philosophy and divinity.

On his return to Kiof, he read lectures on the Latin and Sclavonian poetry in the seminary,



and, having assumed the monastic habit, changed his name to Theophanes. Before he attained the 25th year of his age, he was appointed præfect, the second office in the seminary, and professor of philosophy. In 1706, he distinguished himself by a Latin oration before Peter the Great, and still more by a sermon, which, in 1709, he preached before the same monarch after the battle of Pultava. Having once attracted the notice, he soon acquired the protection of Peter, who, captivated with his great talents, superior learning, and polite address, selected him for a companion in the ensuing campaign against the Turks; a sure prelude to his future advancement. In 1711, Theophanes was nominated abbot of the monastery of Bratskoi, rector of the seminary, and professor of divinity. His censures against the ignorance and indolence of the Russian clergy, and his endeavours to promote a taste for polite literature among his brethren, rendered him a fit instrument in the hands of Peter for the reformation of the church, and the abolition of the patriarchal dignity. He was placed at the head of the synod, of which ecclesiastical establishment he himself drew the plan, was created in 1718 bishop of Plescof, and in 1720 archbishop of the same diocese: soon after the accession of Catharine he was consecrated archbishop of Novogorod,

rod, and metropolitan of all Russia, and died in 1736.

Besides various sermons and theological disquisitions, he wrote a treatise on rhetoric, and on the rules of Latin and Slavonian poetry; he composed verses in the Latin language, and was author of a work, for which he is chiefly mentioned in this place, the Life of Peter the Great, which terminates with the battle of Pultava. In this performance the prelate has, notwithstanding his natural partiality to his benefactor, avoided that scurrilous abuse of the contrary party which frequently disgraces the best histories, and has been particularly candid in his account of Sophia. Peter employed him in composing the decrees which concerned theological questions, and even many which related to civil affairs.

Theophanes, not only cultivated the sciences, and promoted them during his life, but likewise left a legacy to his countrymen, for their further progress after his decease, by maintaining and superintending the education of sixty boys, in his episcopal palace. Under his auspices, they were instructed in foreign languages, and in various branches of polite knowledge, which had been hitherto censured by many as profane acquisitions; thus transmitting the rays of learning to illuminate future ages and a distant posterity\*.

\* For the history of Theophanes I have followed implicitly Muller, whose fidelity and accuracy always appear to me unquestionable. See S. R. G. V. p. 564.



Though Russia hitherto abounded in chronicles and annals relative to detached periods; yet, excepting a dry detail of facts compiled for the use of Alexèy Michaelovitch, it possessed no regular and connected history. The first attempt towards such a work was undertaken by prince Khilkof. This nobleman \*, descended from an ancient family, had distinguished himself as embassador to several foreign courts, before he was deputed, in 1700, to Stockholm. He accompanied Charles XII. in his descent upon the Isle of Zealand; and on the ensuing truce of Travendahl, between Sweden and Denmark, returned to Stockholm, on the 17th of September, at the eve of the rupture which broke out between the Swedish and Russian monarchs. His character of embassador, deemed sacred by the law of nations, could not protect him from the resentment of Charles XII.; and, on the 20th of the same month, he was arrested and imprisoned.

As an amusement during his captivity, which was long and rigorous, and at the request of his fellow-prisoner prince Trubetskoi, he began an abridgment of the Russian history, from the earliest period to his own time; and after a confinement of eighteen years, expired in his prison of Westeros, when he was on the point of

\* See Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1777, p. 78-87.

being released. His work, called the “Kernel of the Russian History,” is a mere abridgment, and was published in 1770 by Mr. Muller. It forms only one volume in octavo, and contains seven books : the first commences with the creation of the world, and ends with the foundation of the Russian empire under Ruric ; the remaining six carry down the history to the year 1713. During some part of his confinement he was permitted to receive from Moscow, books, extracts from chronicles, and a few state-papers ; but as he could not obtain the necessary documents so well as on the spot, his performance unavoidably contains occasional errors, many of which the judicious editor has corrected.

In 1720, Vassili Tatishchev, who had more opportunities of obtaining information, began to collect materials for a complete history of Russia, and continued his researches without intermission for 30 years. The indefatigable compiler finished his account to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, and was bringing it down to this century, when death put a period to his labours. Part of this great work was consumed by fire, and the remainder was published after the author’s death by Muller. It consists of three volumes in quarto. The first contains several curious dissertations relative to the antiquity of the



Sclavonian nation; the second and third comprise the history of the Russian empire, from its earliest origin to 1237. It can hardly be called a regular history, but is rather a connected series of chronicles, whose antiquated Sclavonian dialects are merely changed into the Russian idiom; and the author is justly censured for not regularly citing the various annalists as he abridges or new models them, and for not assigning the reasons which induced him to prefer the writers whose relations he has adopted, to those which he has rejected\*.

Since Tatishchef, several writers † have published collections of state-papers and other documents; but the honour of composing a complete history of this country is probably reserved for prince Sherebatof; who, if we except Muller, has contributed more than any other person towards illustrating the Russian annals.

\* Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1774, p. 43; also for 1775, p. 216. L'Evesque, vol. I. p. xxxi.

† Particularly Novikof, in his *ancient Russian Library*, in ten volumes, a work thus characterised by L'Evesque: "*Recueil de pièces originales et authentiques, tirées des cabinets et des archives: on y trouve des morceaux très-importantes.*" Vol. I. p. xxiv. The Academy of Sciences has also published an *Historical Journal* every month, from 1755 to 1765. It consists of 20 volumes, octavo, and contains "*un grand nombre de morceaux historiques très-intéressans, dont la plupart ont été composés par le savant Muller.*" ib.

This learned nobleman is editor of several works: A journal of Peter the Great, in 2 vols. quarto, which he found in the archives, and published by order of the empress. It consists of eight books, five of which were corrected by Peter himself. The first volume begins with the insurrection of the Strelitzes in 1698, and finishes with 1714; the second concludes with the peace of Nyftadt in 1721. The learned editor has added several remarks, and some important pieces from the Russian archives. The Russian History, by an Ancient Annalist, from the beginning of the reign of Vlodimir Monomaca, in 1114 to 1472, in which the author dwells on the civil feuds of Novogorod, and its subjection to Ivan Vassilievitch I. The Life of Peter the Great, in the Russian language, first published at Venice, which the prince reprinted in 1774, and enriched with historical observations. His own works are, an Account of the Russian Impostors: amongst these is the life of Demetrius, chiefly drawn from the sources consulted by Muller in his relation of the same period. But this noble author's great work is the History of Russia, from the earliest times. He has already published three volumes in quarto, which finish with the reign of Demetrius Donski, who died in 1389. I have read with great pleasure the German translation of this performance,

which



which is a most valuable addition to the history of the North. The author had access to the imperial archives ; he draws his information from the most ancient and unquestionable sources, is exact in quoting his authorities, and ranges the events in chronological order with great perspicuity. A writer, who consulted many chronicles cited by this historian, and who has given to the public the most complete history of Russia yet extant, thus speaks of this work : “ The author always cites his authorities. I have verified a great number of his references, and have always discovered his accuracy. If the first character of an historian is the love of truth, the prince deserves the greatest praise \*.”

Although this disquisition is confined to the native writers ; yet I cannot avoid mentioning Voltaire's Life of Peter the Great, as it is the work from which most foreign nations have formed their ideas of Russia ; which many French and English authors have servilely copied, until it is considered as a standard book, and particularly as the author informs us in the Preface : “ *La cour de Petersbourg, &c. a fait parvenir à l'historien chargé de cet ouvrage tous les documents authentiques. Il n'a écrit que sur des preuves incontestables.*”

\* L'Evesque.

But the well-informed Russians, although this work idolizes their hero Peter the Great, confess that it is an inaccurate performance; a panegyric rather than a history, in which many facts are disguised or omitted; where every defect in the principal character is softened, and every virtue exaggerated. In truth, the elegant author wrote this Life at the desire of the empress Elizabeth, by whose order he received great part of the materials. Hence it may easily be conjectured, that nothing would be communicated which could reflect the smallest discredit on Peter or Catharine; and that the author was unwilling to insert any circumstance which might be displeasing to Elizabeth. His genius was fettered by these restraints; the picture, accordingly, which he has drawn of Peter is almost as devoid of animation as of resemblance, and this sketch is the least entertaining, as well as the most inaccurate of his historical pieces.

But frequently also in regard to those events which did not interfere with Elizabeth's prejudices, he either did not examine, or did not follow, some of the best and most authentic materials communicated from Peterburgh\*.

From

\* Busching has published, in the third volume of his Historical Magazine, "Mémoire abrégé sur la Vie du Tsarevitch Alexis Petrovitch." This memoir, says the editor, was sent to Voltaire before



From these circumstances we may assent to the truth of the censure passed by the lively writer upon his own performance, when he said, "*Je ferai graver sur ma tombe, cy gît qui a voulu écrire l'histoire de Pierre le Grand* \*."

Of the Russian poetry previous to this century, the only specimens were a few ancient songs, some occasional copies of verses, and a psalter, composed by the monk Simeon Polotski, printed at Moscow in 1680. To use the expressions of the epic writer Kheraskof, "the Muses waited till the reign of Peter the Great, to make their appearance in Russia: before his time were indeed a few poets, but their compositions were more rhymes than verses, and even during his reign the art was still in its infancy. At length came Lomonozof †," &c. Theophanes had indeed read lectures on the rules of Slavonian or Russian verse; prince Kantemir, Iliniski, Trediatofski, and a few others, had composed; but there were no poets of eminence be-

before he began to write his History of Russia: it will serve as a proof how little that writer employed the authentic papers transmitted to him. Vol. III. p. 194. Muller also charges Voltaire with not paying sufficient attention to the papers which he communicated from the most undoubted authorities. Bus. XVI. p. 352.

\* Cited by L'Evesque, Vol. I. p. xxx.

† Preface to Kheraskof's Poem on the Battle of Tcheshme, quoted in Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1774, p. 201.

fore Lomonozof and Sumorokof. A sketch therefore of the lives and writings of these two authors, a short account of the Russian stage, and a few remarks on the compositions of Kheraskof, will convey to the reader some idea of the rise, progress, and state of poetry in this empire.

Lomonozof\*, the great refiner of his native tongue, was the son of a fishmonger at Kolmogori: he was born in 1711, and fortunately taught to read; a rare instance for a person of so low a station in Russia. His natural genius for poetry was first kindled by the perusal of the Song of Solomon, done into verse by Polotski, whose rude compositions, perhaps scarcely superior to our version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, inspired him with an irresistible passion for the muses. He fled from his father, who would have compelled him to marry, and took refuge in a monastery at Moscow; where he had an opportunity of indulging his taste for letters, and studying the Greek and Latin languages. In this seminary he made so considerable a progress in polite literature, as to be patronised by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. In 1736, he was sent, at the expence of that society, to the university of Marburgh in Hesse-Cassel, where he studied under the cele-

\* Le Clerc. Hist. Mod. p. 70.



brated Christian Wolf, universal grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. He continued at Marburgh four years, and applied himself with indefatigable diligence to chymistry, which he afterwards pursued with still greater success, under the famous Henckel, at Freyburgh in Saxony. In 1741, he returned into Russia, was chosen in 1742 adjunct to the Imperial Academy, and in the ensuing year member of that society, and professor of chymistry. In 1760, he was appointed inspector of the seminary, then annexed to the Academy; in 1764, he was gratified by the empress with the title of counsellor of state, and died on the 4th of April that year, in the 54th year of his age.

Lomonozof excelled in various kinds of composition; but his chief merit is derived from his odes. The first was written in 1739, while he studied in Germany, on the capture of Kotschin, a fortress of Crim Tartary, by marshal Munic. The odes of Lomonozof are greatly admired for originality of invention, sublimity of sentiment, and energy of language, and compensate for their turgid style, by that spirit and fire, which are the principal characteristics in this species of composition. Pindar was his great model; and if we may give credit to a person \* well versed

\* L'Evesque, who says of him, " Il est peut-être le seul émule de Pindare."

in the Russian tongue, he has succeeded in this daring attempt to imitate the Theban bard, without incurring the censure of Horace\*. In this, as well as several other species of composition, he enriched his native language with various kinds of metre, and merited the appellation bestowed on him, "The Father of Russian Poetry."

A brief recapitulation of the principal works of Lomonozof, printed in three volumes octavo, will shew the versatility of his genius, and his extensive knowledge in various branches of literature:

The first volume, beside a preface on the advantages derived to the Russian tongue from the ecclesiastical writings, contains ten sacred and nineteen panegyric odes, and several occasional pieces of poetry.

The second comprises an Essay, in prose, on the rules of Russian Poetry; translation of a German Ode: Idylls; Tamira and Selim, a tragedy; Demophoon, a tragedy; Poetical Epistle on the Utility of Glass; two cantos of an epic Poem, intitled Peter the Great; a congratulatory copy of verses; an Ode; translation of Baptiste Rousseau's ode, *Sur le Bonheur*; Heads of a Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy; certain passages, translated in verse and prose, according to the originals, from Cicero, Erasmus, Lucian, Ælian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Quintus Curtius, Homer, Virgil, Martial, Ovid, Horace, and Seneca, which Russian translations were brought as examples in his Lectures upon Rhetoric; lastly, description of the Comet which appeared in 1744.

The third volume consists chiefly of speeches and treatises read

\* "Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari," &c. L'Ode de Lomonosof fit connoître aux Russes les véritables règles de la harmonie.  
*Le Clerc.*



before the academy; panegyric on the empress Elizabeth; on Peter the Great; treatise on the advantages of chymistry; on the phenomena of the air, occasioned by the electrical fire, with a Latin translation of the same; on the origin of light, as a new theory of colours; methods to determine with precision the course of a vessel; on the origin of metals by the means of earthquakes; Latin dissertation on solidity and fluidity; on the Transit of Venus in 1761, with a German translation \*.

Besides these various subjects, Lomonozof made no inconsiderable figure in history, having published two small works relative to that of his own country. The first, styled Annals of the Russian Sovereigns, is a short chronology of the Russian monarchs; the second is the Ancient History of Russia, from the origin of that nation to the death of the great-duke Yaroslav I. in 1054; a performance of great merit, as it illustrates the most difficult and obscure period in the annals of this country.

Lomonozof was also an admirer of the arts; made some proficiency in painting, and distinguished himself by copying in mosaic. The portraits of the regent Anne and Peter the Third, done by Lomonozof in mosaic, are still preserved in the gallery at Oranienbaum.

Alexander Sumorokof, justly denominated the founder of the Russian theatre, next to Lomo-

\* Mr. Damaskin, who published this complete edition of Lomonozof's works, received from the empress a present of £.100. See *Rus. Bib.* for 1780, p. 338.

nozof, principally contributed to refine the poetry of his country. But before I give a detail of his life and writings, I shall introduce a short account of the Russian stage, because a view of the state in which he found the national theatre \* will display his powers in dramatic composition.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, almost the only † dramatic representations in Russia were exhibited in the monasteries of Kiof and Moscow; where the students performed occasionally an *Actus Oratorius*, or scriptural history. The learned Demetrius Tooptalo ‡, metropolitan archbishop of Rostof, was highly distinguished for composing, in the taste of the times, scriptural histories in verse: The Sinner an allegory; Esther and Ahasuerus; The Birth, and the Resurrec-

\* It does not enter into my plan to trace the introduction and progress of the German, Italian, and French players in Russia. I shall only observe, that, in the reign of Peter the Great, the first set of German actors played at Petersburg; some Italian performers first made their appearance in 1730, and the French comedians in 1742. For further information on this subject, the reader is referred to Staehlin's *Ges. des Theatres in Rußland*, in Haygold, or Schloetzer's *Beylage*, vol. I. p. 400.

† We may except the representations at court during the minority of Peter the Great, when some of Moliere's plays, translated into the Russian tongue, were acted in the Ikonospatskoi convent; among other persons of distinction, the princess Sophia performed a part.

‡ He died in 1709.



tion of Christ. At the commencement of this century, these pieces were the fashionable representations, not only in convents, but at court, even so late as the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

The students of surgery in the hospital at Moscow gave the first public performance exhibited by the laity, in the great hall, where they raised a stage, and used screens for the scenery. Staehlin\*, who was present at one of these exhibitions, the subject of which was Tamerlane, informs us, that nothing could be more grotesque and ridiculous; and relates an instance of profane ribaldry introduced into one of the scriptural pieces, too gross to be mentioned. The same author remembers to have seen at Peterburgh the empress's grooms act in a still more wretched manner, either in the hay-loft of the imperial stables, or in an unfurnished house. Actors of this sort used also to perform every year for the amusement of the common people: they had no regular theatre, but were accustomed to play in different parts of the city. At dusk, a paper lantern was hung from the window, and two huntsmen's horns were blown, to announce a comedy for the evening; the en-

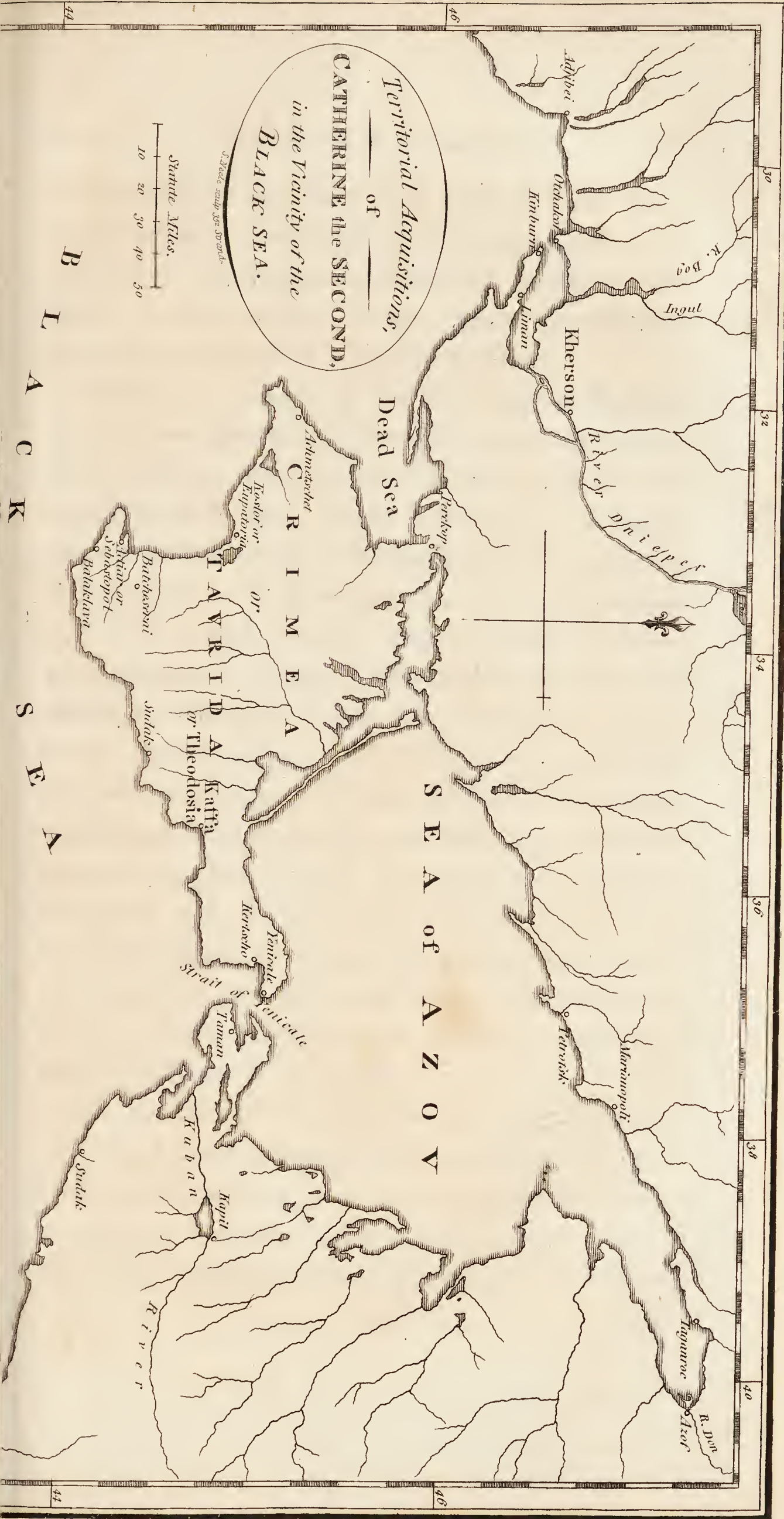
\* See Geschichte des Theatres in Rußland, from which ingenious treatise I have principally taken this account of the Russian stage.

*Territorial Acquisitions,*  
— of —  
**CATHERINE the SECOND,**  
*in the Vicinity of the*  
**BLACK SEA.**

*Scale scale 32.50 miles*

*Statute Miles.*  
10 20 30 40 50

**B  
L  
A  
C  
K  
  
S  
E  
A**







trance money was from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2*d.*; and the spectators usually remained two hours to hear every species of nonsense and ribaldry. Such was the state of the Russian stage when Sumorokof brought out his first tragedy of Koref.

About the same time the first regular Russian theatre was opened at Yaroslaf, under the direction of the celebrated actor Feodor Volkof, the Garrick of Russia, whose talents for the stage were equal to those of Sumorokof for dramatic composition. Volkof was son of a tradesman at Yaroslaf, and born in 1729: having discovered early proofs of great abilities, he was sent to Moscow, where he learnt the German tongue, music, and drawing. His father dying, and his mother marrying a second husband, who had established a manufactory of salt-petre and sulphur, he applied himself to that trade; and going upon the business of his father-in-law to Petersburg about the year 1748, his natural inclination for the stage led him to frequent the German plays, and form an intimate acquaintance with some of the actors.

On his return to Yaroslaf, he constructed a stage in a large apartment at his father-in-law's house, painted the scenes, and, with the assistance of his four brothers, acted before a large assembly. Their first performances were the scriptu-



ral histories written by the archbishop of Rostof; these were succeeded by the tragedies of Lomonozof and Sumorokof, and sometimes satirical farces of their own composition against the inhabitants of Yaroslaf. The spectators being admitted *gratis*, his father-in-law objected to the expence; and Volkof constructed, in 1750, a large theatre, partly by subscription, and partly at his own risk. Having supplied it with scenes, which he painted himself, and dresses, which he assisted in making; and procured additional actors, whom he instructed, he and his troop performed with great applause before crowded audiences, who cheerfully paid for their admission.

In 1752, the empress Elizabeth, informed of their success, summoned them to Petersburg; where they represented, in the theatre of the court, the tragedies of Sumorokof. To improve this new troop, the four principal actors were placed in the seminary of the cadets, where they remained four years. At the conclusion of that period, a Russian theatre was established at the court; three actresses were admitted; Sumorokof was appointed director, and 5,000 roubles were allowed for the actors. Besides this salary, they were permitted to perform once a week to the public; and the admission-money

was distributed among them without deduction; as the lights, music, and dresses were provided at the expence of the empress.

The chief performances were the tragedies and comedies of Sumorokof, and translations from Moliere and other French writers. The company continued to flourish under the patronage of Catharine, and the salaries of the actors were gradually increased to 11,000 roubles per annum. Volkof and his brother were ennobled, and received from their imperial mistress estates in land: he performed, for the last time, at Moscow, in the tragedy of Zemira, a short time before his death, which happened in 1763, in the 35th year of his age. He equally excelled in tragedy and comedy; but his principal merit consisted in representing madness. He was tolerably versed in music, and no indifferent poet.

His friend Sumorokof paid an affecting tribute to the memory of Volkof, who had done ample justice to his dramatic compositions: "Melpomene, unite thy tears with mine; lament, and tear thy locks. My friend is dead. Adieu, my friend; sorrow penetrates and dissolves my soul. The source of Hippocrene is frozen. O Russia! you possessed a second Racine! but the new theatre is already tottering from its foundations; and all the labours of a century are destroyed! Volkof is separated



from the Muses for ever.—Tragedy has lost her buskin and her poignard. Melpomene, bedew his tomb with thy tears\*.”

The prophecy, however, of Sumorokof, which his enthusiasm for the theatrical abilities of this great actor, or his affection for the memory of his friend, led him to utter, is far from being fulfilled. The stage, though it suffered a considerable loss by the death of Volkof, still subsists and prospers under the protection of Catharine; and from the specimens which I saw among the foundlings at Moscow, and in other seminaries, there is no reason to apprehend the want of able actors.

To return from this digression: Alexander Sumorokof, the son of Peter Sumorokof, a Russian nobleman, was born at Moscow, on the 14th of November, 1727 †. He received the first rudiments of learning in his father's house; where, beside a grammatical knowledge of his native tongue, he was well grounded in the Latin language. Being removed to the seminary of the Cadets at St. Petersburg, he prosecuted his studies with unwearied application, and gave early proofs of his genius for poetry. Even on holidays he would retire from his companions,

\* LeClerk, p. 81.

† This account of Sumorokof is chiefly taken from “*Kurze Nachricht von den Leben und der Schriften des, Alexander Petrowitch Sumorokof,*” in *Journ. St. Pet.* for 1778.

who were engaged in play, and devote his whole time to the perusal of the Latin and French writers.

The first efforts of his genius were love-songs, whose tenderness and beauty of expression, till then unknown in the Russian tongue, were considered as prognostics of his future fame. On quitting the seminary, he was appointed adjutant, first to count Golovkin, and afterwards to count Razomofski; and being patronized by count Ivan Shuvalof, was introduced by that Mæcenæ to Elizabeth, who took him under her protection. About the 29th year of his age, an enthusiastic fondness for the works of Racine, turned his genius to the drama, and he wrote the tragedy of Koref, which laid the foundation of the Russian theatre. This piece was first acted by some of his former school-mates, the cadets, who had previously exercised their talents in declamation, and in acting a French play. Elizabeth, informed of this new phænomenon in the theatrical world, ordered the tragedy to be exhibited in her presence upon a small theatre of the court, where German, Italian, and French plays had been performed. The applause and distinction which the author received on this occasion, encouraged him to follow the bent of his genius; and he produced successively Hamlet, Ariftona, Sinaf and Truvor, Zemira, Dimifa, Vitschelaf,



Vitellias, the False Demetrius, and Micidas. Nor was his muse less fertile in comedies, which are, Trissotin, the Judge, the Dispute between the Husband and Wife, the Guardian, the Portion acquired by Fraud, the Envious Man, Tartuffe, the Imaginary Cuckold, the Mother who rivals her Daughter, the Gossip, and the Three Rival Brothers. He wrote also the operas of Alceste, and Cephalus and Procris \*.

With respect to his tragedies, Racine was his model; and his Russian biographer, who seems a competent judge of his merit, allows, that "though in some instances he attained all the excellence of the French poet, yet he failed in many others; but it would be uncandid to insist on such defects in a writer who first introduced the drama among his countrymen. The French overlook in their Corneille still greater faults." "His comedies, continues the same author, contain much humour; but I do not imagine that our dramatic writers will adopt him for their model; for he frequently excites the laughter of the spectator at the expence of his cooler judgment †. Nevertheless, they present sufficient passages

\* His tragedies are written in rhyme, in the Alexandrine verse, the same as the French heroic. His comedies are in prose.

† "Weil es auch ein Lachen giebt, nach welchem der Zuschauer nicht wohl mit sich selbst Zufrieden ist dass er gelacht hat."

Literally,

passages to prove, that he would have attained a greater degree of excellence in this line, had he paid more attention to paint our manners, and follow the taste of the best foreign writers."

Besides dramatic writings, Sumorokof attempted every species of poetry, excepting the epic. He wrote love-songs, idyls, fables, satires, anacreontics, elegies, versions of the Psalms, and Pindaric odes. Superior to Lomonozof\* in the compositions of the drama, he was inferior to him in Pindaric writings. "Though his odes," adds his biographer, "are distinguished by easy flow of versification, harmony, softness, and grace; yet they are far from reaching that elevation and fire which characterize those of Lomonozof. These

Literally, "Since he occasions a laughter, at which the spectator is not well satisfied that he has laughed." Does the biographer mean by this passage, that the wit of Sumorokof was often too farcical, and degenerated into a low species of humour? If so, let the author answer for himself. In a letter to Voltaire, he complains that his countrymen had begun to adopt that wretched species of composition, the sentimental comedy, instead of the wit and humour of Moliere; and Voltaire agreed with him, in the following words: "Je souscris entièrement à tout ce que vous dites de Moliere et de la comédie Larmoyante, qui à la honte de la nation a succédé au seul vrai genre comique porté à perfection par l'inimitable Moliere. Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1778, p. 153.

\* There was an unfortunate rivalry between these two poets: each wished to excel in the other's line, and each failed in the attempt. The account of this rivalry between Lomonozof and Sumorokof might add another article for the author of *Les Querelles Littéraires*.



two great poets had each their peculiar talents : the one displayed all the majesty, strength, and sublimity of the Russian tongue ; the other all its harmony, softness, and elegance. The elegies of Sumorokof are full of tendernefs : his idyls give a true picture of the pastoral life, in all the pleasing simplicity of untutored nature, without descending to vulgarity, and may serve as models in this species of composition, in all things excepting in strict morality. His satires are the best in the Russian language, but are extremely unequal, and deserve to have been wrought with more plan and regularity. In writing his fables, his pen seems to have been guided by the Muses and Graces \* ; and I do not hesitate, if not to prefer them, at least to compare them with those of Fontaine."

Sumorokof was also author of a few short and detached historical pieces. A Chronicle of Moscow, in which he relates the origin of that city, and abridges the reigns of its monarchs from Ivan Danilovitch to Feodor Alexievitch ; history of the first insurrection of the Strelitz in

\* This opinion seems to be general : " Mais tous les applaudissemens se sont réunis en faveur de ces fables. On ne peut leur refuser la premiere place après celles de La Fontaine. L'Evesque, vol. V. p. 342.

" Ses fables peuvent être comparées à ce qu'on a fait de mieux dans ce genre, depuis l'inimitable La Fontaine." Le Clerc, p. 77.

1682, by which Ivan was appointed joint sovereign with Peter the Great, and the princess Sophia regent; an account of Stenko Razin's rebellion. His style in these pieces is said to be clear and perspicuous, but too flowery and poetical.

Sumorokof obtained by his merit the favour and protection of his sovereign. Elizabeth gave him the rank of brigadier, appointed him director of the Russian theatre, and settled on him an annual pension of £.400. Catharine created him counsellor of state, conferred on him the order of St. Anne, and honoured him with many instances of munificence and distinction until his death, which happened at Moscow, on the 1st of October 1777, in the 51st year of his age.

“ With respect to his disposition,” says his biographer, “ this celebrated poet seems to have possessed a good and amiable heart; but his extreme sensibility, an excellent quality in a poet when tempered with philosophy, occasioned that singularity and vehemence of character, which gave so much trouble and uneasiness to all his acquaintance, but particularly to himself. He was polite and condescending towards those who treated him with respect; but haughty to those who behaved to him with pride. He knew no deceit; he was a true friend, and an open enemy, and could neither forget an obligation nor an injury. Passionate, and frequently



quently inconsiderate in his pursuits, he could not brook the least opposition, and regarded the most trifling circumstance as the greatest evil. His extraordinary fame, the many favours conferred on him by the empress, the indulgence and veneration of his friends, might have made him extremely fortunate, if he had understood the art of being so. He had conceived a great, perhaps too great, an idea of the character and merits of a true poet; and could not endure to see with patience this noble and much-esteemed art, which had been consecrated by Homer, Virgil, and other great men, profaned by persons without judgment or abilities. These pretenders, he would say, shock the public with their nonsense in rhyme, and clothe their monstrous conceptions in the dress of the Muses. The public recoil from them with disgust and aversion; and, deceived by their appearance, treat with irreverence those children of heaven, the true Muses."

The examples of Lomonozof and Sumorokof have tended to diffuse a spirit of poetry, and a taste for polite learning, among the Russians, and they are succeeded by a numerous band of poets\*. Of these I shall only mention one writer, who has distinguished himself by composing the first epic poem in the Russian tongue.

\* Many of these are enumerated by Mr. Le Clerc, *Hist. Mod.* p. 78—98.

Michael Kheraskof, a person of a noble family, has excelled in several species of composition. His works are, a poem on the Utility of Science, several tragedies and comedies, Pindaric odes, Anacreontics, fables, idyls, and satires, a romance called *Ariadne in Thebes*, *Numa Pompilius*, a poem, in four cantos, in honour of the naval victory over the Turks at the battle of *Tchefme*. But the piece by which he has acquired the greatest fame, is an epic poem in twelve cantos, called the *ROSSIADA*, written in Iambic measure of six feet in rhyme. The subject is the conquest of *Casan* by *Ivan Vassilievitch II.* or, as the author has expressed himself, “I sing *Russia* delivered from the yoke of barbarians; the might of the *Tartars* laid low, and their pride humbled: I sing the strifes and bloody conflicts of ancient armies; *Russia’s* triumph, and *Casan’s* subjection.” This work is greatly admired by the natives, and may justly be considered as forming an epoch in the history of their poetry. The general plan seems well disposed; the events follow each other in a rapid but orderly succession; and the imagination of the reader is kept alive by frequent scenes of terror, in which the author seems to excel. The subject is extremely interesting to the *Russians*; and the poet has artfully availed himself of the popular belief, by the introduction of saints and martyrs for the machinery



chinery of his poem. Le Clerc informs us, that this poem, while it contains several striking passages of great beauty, is in many parts deficient in harmony ; a defect, he adds, which the author, by retouching and correcting, is capable of removing.

Kheraskof has not failed of acquiring the rewards due to his extraordinary talents ; having been successively appointed vice-president of the college of mines, counsellor of state, and curator of the university of Moscow.

Lomonozof is a rare, and perhaps a single instance of any Russian of low degree, not an ecclesiastic, who attained to great eminence in literature. But probably such examples will soon cease to be uncommon ; since the schools, instituted by Catharine in every province of her wide-extended empire, will facilitate the acquisition of learning among the lower class of people ; since the zeal for inquiry is spread among the natives, and honour and promotion are known by experience to be the certain attendants on literary acquisitions. Indeed, such is the spirit with which the empress protects and encourages learning ; that scarcely any work of merit makes its appearance, for which the author does not instantly receive some mark of distinction or liberality.

To spread a taste of literature among her subjects,

jects; Catharine appointed, in 1768, a committee to order and superintend translations of the classics, and the best modern authors, into the Russian tongue; and allowed £.1000 per annum towards defraying the expence of such undertakings\*.

With

\* The following is a list of the translations which had made their appearance before the 8th of July 1774\* :

Homer's *Batraychomyomachia*; Characters of Theophrastus; Ælian; Herodian; Diodorus Siculus; Terence; Cicero *De Finibus*; Cæsar's Commentaries; Three Epistles of Ovid; his *Metamorphoses* in prose; *Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum*; Paterculus; Valerius Maximus; Stritter's *Memoriæ populorum olim ad Danubium incolentium e Script. Byzan. Hist. erutæ*; Muller's Account of the Antient Inhabitants of Russia; Gmelin's Travels through Russia; Pallas's Travels through Russia; His Prussian Majesty's Treatise on the Reason for making and repealing Laws; Montesquieu's *Considerations sur la grandeur et la decadence des Romains*; his *Lyfimaque, Dialogue de Sylla et d'Eucrate, Essai sur le Gout, and Temple de Gnide*; Dimfdale's Treatise on Inoculation; Chalotais *sur l'Education*; History and Treatises of the Amsterdam Society for Recovery of Drowned Persons; The Ottoman Empire; Republic of Ragusa, Great Britain, Portugal, Kingdom of Prussia, from Busching's Geography; Voltaire's *Candide*; a Dialogue of St. Evremond between three persons of different sentiments; various articles from the *Encyclopedie*; Justi's *Foundation of the Power and Happiness of States*; *Calliere de la maniere de negocier avec les souverains*; Rousseau's *Abridgement of St. Pierre's Projet d'une paix perpetuelle*; St. Real's *Conspiration des Espagnols contre la Republique de Venise*; Vertot's *Revolutions Romaines*; Mably's *Histoire Grecque*; Chinese Reflections from the Manshur tongue; The Visible World; Lambert's *Traité de l'Amitié*; Tasso's *Jerusalemme Liberata*; Gulliver's Travels; Joseph Andrews; Jonathan Wild the Great; Amelia; of the

\* See Russ. Bib. for 1775, p. 74.



With respect to classical literature; the Greek language is yet taught in few schools, is scarcely known to the laity, and is a rare qualification even among the regular clergy. Latin is more common, being understood by many of the clergy, and not unfrequently cultivated by persons of improved education. Many of the classics have been translated by natives into the Russian

the Ventriloquists; Gellert's *Betschwester*; the Art of being polite; Letters upon several Physical and Philosophical Subjects; Macquer's Chymistry; the Duty of an Officer; Dictionary of the French Academy; on the advantage of instructing Youth in Classical Literature; Rollin's *Belles Lettres*; Bell's Journey through Russia.

This list mentions 83 books, the translations whereof were in the press; 78, of which translations were making; and 63, which the committee proposed to be translated.

I have received an account of the following translations, which have been since made:

*Henriade*; *Diable Boiteux*; Gellert's Works; Anderson's History of Commerce; Robertson's History of Charles V. from the French translation; Pallas *Samlungen Mongolischen Volkerschaften*; English Grammar; Homer's Iliad; Virgil's *Æneid*; Lucian's Dialogues; Milton's Paradise Lost; Coyer's *Histoire de J. Sobieski*; Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix*; Mallet's *Hist. de Dannemarc*; *Hist. Generale de Voyages*; Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics; Cicero's *Natura Deorum*; Plato's Works; Hesiod; Coxe's Russian Discoveries; *Les Incas de Marmontel*; Bielfield's Political Institutions; *Hist. de la Maison de Brandenburgh*; *Memoires de Sully*; Blackstone's Commentaries; Hist. Aug. Script. Sex; Pope's Essay on Man; Locke on Education; Livy; several Epistles and Odes of Horace; Young's Six weeks Tour, translated by particular order of the empress, for the purpose of diffusing the knowledge of practical agriculture, &c. &c.

tongue

tongue; several editions of the most approved Greek and Roman authors have been published at Moscow and Peterburgh; but the editors have been chiefly foreigners, encouraged to this attempt by the patronage of the Russian nobles, who are not deficient in ancient literature, and excited by the opening genius of the nation. Among the natives, who have rendered themselves illustrious in this branch of knowledge, I must not omit Plato, archbishop of Moscow, who is highly eminent for classical learning; and, among the naturalized foreigners, Eugenius archbishop of Slavenfk and Kherfōn, who, in the true spirit of the original, has translated into Greek hexameters the Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil; a work printed in folio, at the expence of prince Potemkin, and exhibiting a magnificent specimen of typography.



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## B O O K VI.

### C H A P. I.

Population and revenues of the Russian empire.—Paper currency.

**T**HE population of the Russian dominions may be estimated from the table of the poll-tax assessed in 1782.

|                      |   |   |   |         |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---------|
| Government of Moscow | - | - | - | 440,359 |
| St. Peterburgh       | - |   |   | 283,295 |
| Wiburgh              | - | - | - | 88,128  |
| Tver                 | - | - | - | 446,321 |
| Novogorod            | - | - |   | 269,320 |
| Pskof                | - | - | - | 288,125 |
| Smolensko            | - | - |   | 445,257 |
| Mohilef              | - | - | - | 331,033 |
| Polotzk              | - | - | - | 311,462 |
| Orel                 | - | - | - | 462,520 |
| Kursk                | - | - | - | 458,830 |
| Karkof               | - | - | - | 392,944 |
| Voronetz             | - | - |   | 394,934 |
| Tambof               | - | - | - | 438,025 |
| Refan                | - | - | - | 434,679 |
| Toola                | - | - | - | 418,927 |
| Kaloogha             | - | - |   | 384,423 |
| Yaroslaf             | - | - | - | 370,961 |

Government

|                       |   |   |   |         |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---------|
| Government of Vologda | - | - | - | 349,386 |
| Volodimir             | - | - | - | 433,820 |
| Kostroma              | - | - | - | 396,269 |
| Nishnie-Novogorod     |   |   |   | 398,317 |
| Viatka                | - | - | - | 407,950 |
| Perm                  | - | - | - | 373,252 |
| Tobolsk               | - | - | - | 166,225 |
| Kolyvan               | - | - | - | 39,297  |
| Irkutsk               | - | - | - | 123,232 |
| Ufa                   | - | - | - | 177,798 |
| Simbirsk              | - | - | - | 361,159 |
| Kasan                 | - | - | - | 373,354 |
| Penza                 | - | - | - | 318,076 |
| Saratof               | - | - | - | 282,817 |
| Astrachan             | - | - | - | 23,776  |
| Asof                  | - | - | - | 177,849 |
| New Russia            | - | - | - | 210,539 |
| Kiof                  | - | - | - | 387,792 |
| Tchernighof           | - | - | - | 368,099 |
| Novogorod Sieverski   |   |   |   | 365,541 |
| Riga                  | - | - | - | 263,525 |
| Revel                 | - | - | - | 99,564  |

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|                              |   |            |
|------------------------------|---|------------|
| Sum total of peasants paying | } | 12,757,180 |
| the Poll-tax                 |   |            |

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By doubling this number for the females, we have for the peasants, male and female, in the whole Russian empire



|  |            |
|--|------------|
|  | 25,514,360 |
| To this we must add nobles -                       | 200,000    |
| Clergy and their families - -                      | 120,000    |
| Merchants and families - -                         | 250,000    |
| Natives of Crim Tartary and the<br>Kuban - - - - - | 80,000     |
| Wandering hordes of Siberia -                      | 600,000    |

And the total population of the  
Russian empire will, accord-  
ing to this calculation, be } 26,764,360

A number, however large, greatly disproportion-  
ed to the extent of the empire\*.

### The

\* This estimation of population in Russia was, in 1785, sufficiently exact, and considered so by the last statistical writer in Russia, who adopted the general statement from my account; since that period a great accession of subjects has been gained by the territorial acquisitions, and some increase of the population from natural causes.

#### Population in the new Acquisitions:

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| District of Otchakof, 1791 - - -  | 40,000           |
| By second partition of Poland, 1793 - -   | 3,745,000        |
| By the conquest of Poland, 1795 - -   | 1,407,000        |
| Courland - - - - -  | 387,000          |
|   | <hr/> 5,579,000  |
| Probable addition by the excess of the births over<br>the deaths, in the whole empire, for 15 years - | 1,500,000        |
|   | <hr/> 7,079,000  |
| Population in 1784 - - - - -  | 26,784,360       |
| Population in 1800 - - - - -  | <hr/> 33,863,360 |

Storch,

The revenues of Russia, besides the imposts paid by the Ukraine; and by the provinces conquered from Sweden, chiefly arise from the poll-tax; the duties of import and export; the excise upon salt; the crown and church lands; the profits of the mint; and the sale of spirituous liquors, and a few other articles.

The poll-tax was introduced in 1721 by Peter I.; and, at the accession of Catharine II. was exacted from all persons, excepting the nobles and gentry, clergy, navy, army, the Cossacs, the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Conquered Provinces. All who  
were

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Storch, in his Historical Account of the Russian empire, estimates the population at 36,152,000, in 1797. But he seems to have exaggerated the number, by allowing an increase of 250,000 a year, and putting, therefore, the increase during ten years at 3,000,000.

Mr. Tooke, in the second edition of his view of the Russian empire, greatly exaggerates the population, by fixing it at 40,000,000. He grounds his calculation on the tables of births and deaths given in the *Hamburgh Politisches Journal*, and proceeds on the principle, that only one person in 58 dies annually. This calculation is erroneous, on two accounts: first, the list of births and deaths is not accurate; it being a well known fact, that the number of deaths was diminished, and of the births augmented, to gratify the sovereign with an idea, that the population was rapidly increasing. A striking example occurred during my first Journey to Peterburgh: only a few of the numbers who perished in consequence of the cold or intoxication at the fête mentioned in p. 227, were included in the bills of mortality. Secondly, when the prevalence of those diseases which Mr. Tooke himself enumerates, and the number of casualties in Russia, are considered, it will appear to any person in the least accustomed to such kinds of calculation, that the annual mortality must be more than one in fifty-eight.



were liable to this tax were rated in different proportions, as they were merchants, burghers, or peasants. By the manifesto of 1775, promulgated after the conclusion of the Turkish war, the merchants were exempted from this tax; and it now includes only the burghers and peasants.

Every fifteen or twenty years, the number of inhabitants throughout the empire is usually taken; and, in each district subject to the poll tax, all males, infants as well as adults, under the description of a burgher or peasant, are assessed\*; from that period the same assessment is regularly paid till the next revision, whether the population of that district increases or diminishes; in the latter case, the inhabitants or landholders are bound to supply the deficiency; in the former, the tax is not augmented, and of course falls much easier upon a larger number of persons. The landholders are answerable for the poll-tax of their peasants.

By a late imperial edict, the poll-tax was extended over the Ukraine and Conquered Provinces; and the other taxes paid by the peasants were abolished. This alteration has greatly increased the public

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\* It is no easy matter to convey a clear notion of this tax, as well from the complicated method of imposing it, as from the different changes which are occasionally made in the mode of assessment.—A burgher pays usually 4*s.* 9*d.* per annum; a peasant of the crown, in some instances, 8*s.*; in others, 4*s.* 4½*d.*; a peasant of an individual, 2*s.* 9*d.*—Every person exercising the trade of a tailor, smith, shoemaker, mason, or any similar handicraft trade, and who enrolls himself in the company of any town, pays annually, beside the poll-tax, 2*s.* Every peasant who quits his village, to trade at Petersburg, Moscow, or elsewhere, pays 5*d.* to the crown for his passport. These, and many other similar taxes, are all ranged under the poll-tax. The dissenters, or old believers in the Russian church, pay double poll-tax. Some burghers and peasants, such as the yamshicks, who find post-horses, and others, are exempted from the poll-tax; others pay it in labour; some in furs, &c. I found it impossible to give equal attention to every object; and I frankly own, that amidst the variety of intelligence which I procured in Russia, I do not perfectly comprehend each mode of assessment in the poll-tax.

public revenue, and the poll-tax is considerably more productive. Computing the average tax paid by each peasant at a rouble and a quarter, the poll-tax amounts to 15,435,000 roubles, or nearly double its former produce.

The customs, or average duties on exports and imports, amount to 5,000,000 roubles.

The excise upon salt, which is appropriated to the empress's privy purse, produces, on an average, 2,000,000. Her majesty has twice diminished the price of salt nearly 30 per cent.

The mines (See chap. 6. of this Book) and coinage, and duties upon iron at the forge, yield 3,395,910, exclusive of the profits from the coinage of gold and silver imported into Russia.

The church-lands, which are now annexed to the crown, produce about 2,000,000: part of this money is allotted for the salaries of the archbishops, bishops, and regular clergy, for the maintenance of the several monasteries, and for the pensions of officers and soldiers dismissed from the service. The remainder, which belongs to the privy purse, amounts to about 300,000 roubles.

The sale of spirituous liquors forms at present nearly one-third of the Russian revenue. In every part of the empire, excepting the Ukraine and the Conquered Provinces, the crown alone has the privilege of selling spirituous liquors. This branch of finance yields 10,000,000.

#### R E C A P I T U L A T I O N.

|   | Roubles.   |
|---|------------|
| Poll-tax - - - - -  | 15,435,000 |
| Customs - - - - -   | 5,000,000  |
| Salt - - - - -  | 2,000,000  |
| Gold and silver from the mines, profits of the coinage,<br>and duty on iron at the forge - - - - -  | 3,395,910  |
| Farm of spirituous liquors - - - - -  | 10,000,000 |
| Church lands - - - - -  | 2,000,000  |
| Duties on sales of lands and houses, stamped paper,<br>on mills, horses, baths, shops, post-office, and other<br>duties omitted - - - - - | 4,000,000  |
|   | <hr/>      |
| Roubles -   | 41,830,910 |



Or, estimating the rouble at 3*s.* 4*d.* - - - - at £. 6,971,818\*.

As the gradual increase of civilization in the Russian empire has been followed by a proportional increase of the revenue. At the accession of Peter the Great, it amounted to £.1,000,000; at his death to £.1,600,000; Elizabeth raised it to £.3,600,000; when Catharine ascended the throne, it produced £.4,400,000; now yields near £.7,000,000; and is still in an increasing state. This sum is sufficient for the peace-establishment. Of this revenue, the expences of the army and navy amount to about £.3,176,000; those of the civil establishment to £.2,972,485; and the remainder, or £.800,000, is appropriated to the privy purse of the empress. But it is difficult to conceive how she is able to maintain the magnificence of her court; the number of public institutions; the numerous buildings † continually erecting at her expence; the liberality with which she encourages the arts and sciences; the purchases which she is continually

\* Such was the general state of the revenue in 1784. Since this period it has been augmented by an increase of territory, as well as by the improvement of commerce, and other national benefits. According to Mr. Tooke, the latest author who has written on the subject, the revenue exceeds 41,000,000 roubles. See his statement, which seems to be accurate. View of the Russian empire, vol. 2. p. 326. Book 7. sect. 1.

† In time of peace, her majesty allots at least £.200,000 per ann. for the purpose of building.

making

making in every country in Europe, and the immense donations which she confers upon the most favoured of her subjects.

The revenues of Russia may be considerably augmented in case of emergency, by the increase of the poll-tax, and the addition of new imposts. It should also be observed, that in 1775 the empress remitted fifty-seven taxes, and ten in the following year.

The great support of the last war was a new bank, called the Bank of Assignment, which was established during the hostilities against the Turks. When copper-money could not be coined with sufficient expedition to answer the necessities of the state, bank notes, to the value of 50, 75\*, and 100 roubles, in copper, were issued. These notes are changed at the bank in Petersburg and Moscow. The former, which I visited, is a brick building, containing several vaulted rooms, each capable of holding £.400,000 of copper coin in bags, piled one above another; in some the money was already placed, and the others were preparing for the reception of the remainder. Since 1784 the old bank notes were called in, and a new issue made to the acknowledged amount of 100,000,000

\* Soon after the institution of this bank, some notes of 75 roubles being forged, those bearing that value were called in and destroyed.

roubles,



roubles, in notes of five, ten, fifteen, twenty-five, and one hundred roubles. On the first appearance of this paper, it was received, particularly in the remote parts of the empire, not without difficulty, and the discount against it was commonly about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , and in some places even 6 per cent. The obvious advantages, however, over copper money, soon recommended it to general use; and it was found so beneficial to commerce, that in 1779 the discount in favour of silver specie was only one per cent. and it bore a premium of one and an half per cent. over copper money. But so large a quantity was circulated, and the loans to government so lowered the credit of the state, that in 1790 the discount against the paper currency was near 20 per cent.

## C H A P. 2.

Admiralty.—Expedition to Cronstadt.—The harbours and docks.  
—Russian navy.—On Russia.—General observations on the Russian army.

**T**HE Admiralty \*, which stands on the south bank of the Neva, opposite the fortrefs of Peterſburgh, was built by Peter the Great, and is a large brick building, ſurrounded with a rampart and ditch: it is the great receptacle for ſhips' ſtores, and contains magazines of cordage, ſails, maſts, anchors, which are ſent to Cronſtadt for the equipment of the fleet. A large area, between the front of the building and the Neva, is appropriated for the conſtruction of veſſels: when I was at Peterſburgh, five men of war and two frigates were upon the ſtocks †.

Cronſtadt, the principal ſtation of the Russian navy, is ſituated on the iſland Retuſari, in the

\* I am informed that the Admiralty is intended to be removed to Cronſtadt.

† The men of war which are framed in this dock are, in their paſſage to Cronſtadt, liſted over the bar by means of camels: theſe machines were originally invented by the celebrated De Witt, for the purpoſe of conveying large veſſels from Amſterdam over the Pampus; and were introduced into Ruſſia by Peter the Great, who obtained a model of them in Holland.



Gulf of Finland, and was founded by Peter the Great, as being provided with the safest harbour in these parts, and forming a strong bulwark for the defence of the new metropolis. The only passage by which ships of burden can approach Petersburg, lies on the south side of Retufari, through a narrow channel; commanded on one side by Cronstadt, and on the other by Cronslot and the citadel.

Cronslot, which stands on a small sandy island, is a circular wooden building, surrounded with fortifications of wood, and is garrisoned with an hundred men. The citadel is another small wooden fortress, raised also upon an adjacent sand-bank, and capable of holding about thirty soldiers: all large vessels must pass between Cronstadt and these two fortresses, exposed to the fire of the opposite batteries; for the other parts of the gulf are only from one to eleven feet in depth. These fortifications were, at the time of their construction, esteemed places of considerable strength; but now derive their consequence more from past importance, than from any resistance they could make against the attack of a powerful fleet.

The island Retufari is a long slip of land, or rather sand; through the midst of which runs a ridge of granite. It is 20 miles from Petersburg by water, four from the shore of Ingria,  
nine

nine from the coast of Carelia, and ten miles in circumference. It was overspread with firs and pines when Peter conquered it from the Swedes, but now contains 30,000 inhabitants, including 12,000 sailors and a garrison of 1,500 men. The island affords a small quantity of pasture, produces vegetables, and a few fruits, such as apples, currants, gooseberries, and strawberries, which thrive in this northern climate.

Cronstadt is built upon the south-eastern extremity of the island, and defended towards the sea by wooden piers \* projecting into the water, and towards the land by ramparts and bastions. It is a straggling place, and occupies, like all the Russian towns, a larger space of ground than the number of habitations seems to require: the houses are mostly of wood, excepting a few fronting the harbour, which are of brick stuccoed white; among these are the imperial hospital for sailors, the barracks, and the marine academy, which contained, in 1778, three hundred and seventy cadets, who are maintained, and taught at the expence of the crown: they are admitted at the age of five, and remain until seventeen. They learn accounts, mathematics, drawing, fortification, and navigation, and have

\* In 1784 Cronstadt was fortifying with stone piers. The estimate was 7,000,000 roubles.



masters in the French, German, English, and Swedish languages. They are trained to naval tactics, and make an annual cruize as far as Revel.

Cronstadt has a haven appropriated to ships of war, and another to merchant vessels. The men of war's haven contained twenty ships of the line, and nine frigates, which were dismasted, with their guns and tackle on shore. The Eze-kiel of 80 guns, esteemed the finest ship in the navy, was built under the inspection of admiral Knowles, and carries 800 men.

Close to the haven for merchant ships is a canal and several dry docks, begun in 1719, for the purpose of refitting the men of war; this useful work was neglected under the successors of Peter, and not completed until the reign of Elizabeth: it has been still further improved by Catharine, and is now applied for building as well as careening ships of the line. At the extremity of these docks is a great reservoir, 568 feet in length, containing water sufficient to supply all the docks, which is pumped out by means of a fire engine, the diameter of whose cylinder is six feet. The length of this work, from the beginning of the canal, to the end of the last dock, is 4,221 feet. The sides of the docks are faced with stone, and the bottom paved with granite; they are 40 feet deep, 105  
broad,

broad, and capable of containing nine men of war on the stocks.

Nothing can convey a higher idea of the vast and persevering genius of Peter the Great, than the situation in which he found the Russian navy, and the state in which he left it. Though in the beginning of his reign he did not possess a man of war, yet in the course of a few years he equipped a fleet of fifty sail of the line, which rode mistress of the Baltic. Under his successors the Russian navy was greatly neglected, and was in so bad a condition at the accession of Catharine, that she almost equalled her great predecessor in the creation of a new fleet: she invited English captains and ship-builders into Russia, particularly admiral Knowles, who was remarkable for his skill in naval architecture. Under her auspices Europe lately beheld with astonishment the Russian flag displayed in the Archipelago, and the Turkish fleet annihilated at Tchefme by a squadron from the North\*.

Russia produces every article necessary for the construction and equipment of ships, which are built chiefly at Cronstadt, Petersburg, and Archangel: those constructed at Cronstadt and

\* Since the acquisition of Crim Tartary, and the other conquests from Turkey, ships are now built at Kerson and in the harbours of Taurida.



at Petersburg are made with oak; those from Archangel with larch-wood. For the supply of the dock-yards at Petersburg and Cronstadt, the oak is sent from the province of Casan; the Ukraine and the government of Moscow supply the hemp; the masts are procured from the vast tracts of forest between Novogorod and the Gulf of Finland, or furnished by the provinces dismembered from Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Wiburgh. Manufactories of cordage and sail-cloths are established in different parts of the empire; and the magazines of Petersburg and Archangel are always plentifully stored with large quantities of both those articles.

The navy of Russia, in the ports \* of the  
Baltic

\* As I could not obtain an exact account of the Russian ships in the Black Sea, I have chosen to be silent on that head; I shall only observe, that several men of war and frigates were building at St. Demetri, Taurof, and Kherfon. According to Mr. Tooke, in 1796 the Russian fleet at Sebastapol, the principal harbour of Taurida, or Crim Tartary, consisted of 11 ships of the line, and 8 frigates. View of the Russian Empire, Book 6. sect. 2. The reader will find in the Voyage de deux François, &c. Vol. IV. ch. 11. lists of the Russian fleet in 1779, 1786, and 1791. The number of the first differs little from that which I have given, and which is inserted in the appendix. In 1786 the ships of the line amounted to 41, and 26 frigates. In 1791 the whole navy, including ships on the stocks, amounted to 8 of 110 guns, 22 of 74, and 20 of 66; 27 frigates, 4 bomb vessels, 2 prames, 17 cutters, and 4 fireships, besides galleys, and

Baltic and Archangel, consisted, in 1778, of 38 ships of the line, 15 frigates, 4 prames, and 109 gallies\*.

Of this number about 28 ships of the line and ten frigates, including those built with larch-wood, were fit for immediate service. In case, however, of necessity or danger, Russia producing all the necessary materials, her navy might soon be considerably increased, of which I have given a remarkable instance on a former occasion†. But though Russia, since the beginning of this century, has made surprising exertions in the marine; and rapidly become more powerful at sea than the neighbouring kingdoms in the North; yet, in naval affairs, she must be considered still in her infancy, being principally indebted to the English, as well for the construction of her ships, as for manœuvring and disciplining her fleet. Many circumstances indeed concur in retarding the progress of her maritime strength: 1. The want of ports in the Ocean; 2. The small extent of her sea-coast, and that obstructed by ice; 3. A deficiency of experienced seamen.

and numerous vessels of war, principally intended for making descents. Of these, however, not more than 30 ships of the line could be considered as fit for immediate service.

\* See a list of the Russian navy in the Appendix.

† See Vol. II. Book 4. chap. 5.



1. It is obvious that Russia does not possess a single port on the Ocean, excepting that of Archangel, which is of no use but in a commercial light; as well on account of its great distance from the other European seas, as because the navigation round the North Cape of Lapland, situated in the 72d degree of latitude, is only open in the midst of summer.

2. It has been justly remarked, that few nations have attained a great height of naval power, which did not possess a considerable tract of sea-coast; and Russia, excepting the late acquisitions on the Black Sea, the desolate shores round Archangel and of the Frozen Ocean, and the inhospitable regions of Kamtchatka, can boast no greater portion of maritime country than what lies between Wiburgh and Riga\*; a mere point for so large an empire, and rendered less valuable by bordering on the Gulf of Finland and the Baltic; inland seas without tides, when compared with the Ocean scarcely superior to lakes, and inaccessible † for at least five months in the year.

3. The third cause is a deficiency of experi-

\* The acquisition of Courland has since added a small tract of maritime coast.

† The ports in the Baltic being frozen during that period, no vessels can take their departure before April or May, and must return at latest in October.

enced \*seamen. Government, indeed, retains in its pay about 18,000 sailors, most of whom have never served: a few in time of peace make annual cruizes into the Baltic, or perhaps as far as the English Channel; others are employed in the summer season in navigating the vessels laden with merchandize from Cronstadt to Peterburgh. But such nurseries, as these are by no means sufficient; nor can the deficiency be supplied, in case of an immediate war, from private vessels; for Russia has scarcely any merchant-ships, which is chiefly owing to the state of vassalage, and the strict laws that prevent the natives from quitting their country without a licence. A merchant who fits out a trading vessel, must first apply to the admiralty, for permission to take on board a certain number of natives; leave being obtained, the passes for each sailor are brought and lodged in the admiralty; and security, at the rate of £.30 per man, is given for their return. Thus, without altering the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and innovating on the long-established system of vassalage, an adequate number of experienced sailors cannot be raised to man a large fleet on sud-

\* In the naval expedition against the Turks, it was a remark made by several of our officers, that the distance from St. Peterburgh to the Archipelago was a fortunate circumstance, as the Russians acquired experience during the voyage.



den emergencies. In a word, no kingdom, without distant colonies, considerable fisheries, and an extensive sea-coast, to familiarize the inhabitants to the dangers of the Ocean, is likely to acquire such a marine as to become formidable to the great naval powers of Europe.

The navy of Russia, however, with all these disadvantages, is sufficient to protect her coasts, to convoy her merchantmen, to make her respectable in the Baltic, or, in case of a Turkish war, to send a fleet into the Archipelago. It is her advantage to maintain a good correspondence with the great maritime powers, whom she supplies with naval stores; and who are, on that account, equally interested to respect and cultivate her friendship. The frontiers of her immense dominions border on Sweden, Poland, Turkey, Persia, and China\*; and the security of her empire depends more on her army than her navy.

The Russian army is divided into regular and irregular troops.

The regulars, consisting chiefly of infantry, include all those who wear uniforms, and are trained to European discipline. The Russians are excellent soldiers; brave, steady, obedient, patient of fatigue and hardship, and scarcely ever guilty of desertion.

\* Since the final dismemberment of Poland, on the Austrian and Prussian dominions.

With respect to the irregular troops, some of whom are still armed with bows and arrows, and consist entirely of horse, their number is very considerable, and can scarcely be ascertained. Of this body, the corps of Cossacs, who are esteemed the most excellent, and who bear the greatest resemblance to regular troops, are thus described in the journal of Colonel Floyd.

“ The Cossacs are in general persons of low stature; they wear small whiskers, and shave their heads, excepting the crown, upon which they leave a small circle of hair. Their dress is a fur cap, a loose long Asiatic robe, and large pantaloons, boots or half-boots, without spurs, and a whip hanging from the right wrist. Their arms are a lance about twelve feet in length, a brace of pistols slung on the left side, a cartridge-box on the right, and a small scymitar without any guard, or even cross-bar. Their horses are ponies, strong and active, but not fleet. The accoutrements are a kind of hussar-saddle, a small snaffle with large eyes and no horns, to the near eye of which is fastened a thong, that is also tied to the saddle, and which occasionally serves for a halter. They ride short and full-footed, raise themselves on their stirrups, bend their bodies with great activity, and throw themselves into different attitudes. They



never push their horses on full speed in a straight line; but in galloping turn them in various directions, describing in their progress a serpentine line, and wheeling continually to the right and left. When not in action, they carry their lance slung on the foot; when engaged, they present it against the enemy by holding it almost in the middle, and counterpoising it under the arm; and, from constant practice, direct it against an object with great dexterity. In retreating, they rest the lance upon their shoulder as a defence against blows, and occasionally oppose the point to a pursuing enemy.

“These Cossacs, on account of their aversion to regular discipline, are not trained to attack in squadron; but act only as skirmishers, and are said to be extremely adroit in their desultory evolutions: they are usually let loose upon a flying enemy, when they do great execution. They excel as patrols, and are remarkable for their vigilance on out-posts, and their knowledge of the country. The sagacity which they derive from habit and practice is in some particulars astonishing: by examining a tract lately traversed by the enemy in the most tumultuary manner, they can discover, with tolerable exactness, the number of horses that have passed over it, and how many of them were led. Some of them can descry, if any movement is taking  
2 place

place among a corps of troops, far beyond the reach of usual observation; others, by applying their ears to the ground, can distinguish the buzz of men, or the clattering of horses' feet, at a considerable distance. They can take the field every day without intermission, and are indefatigable in harassing the enemy; they are contented with a scanty subsistence, and do not require any forage to be carried for their horses.

“ There are eight regiments of these Cossacs: each regiment consists of five squadrons, and each squadron of a hundred men, beside officers. There are also six other regiments of horse, called regular pikemen, similar in their arms and accoutrements to the Cossacs, and distinguished from them only by a trifling difference of dress.”

#### Computed Force of the Russian Army in 1785.

|                                      |           |         |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Guards, horse and foot               | - - - - - | 10,000  |
| Regular cavalry                      | - - - - - | 69,465  |
| Regular field infantry and artillery | -         | 255,134 |
| Garrison battalions                  | - - - - - | 49,000  |
| Artillery ditto                      | - - - - - | 5,500   |

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Total - 369,099

Irregulars not included.



Such was the state of the Russian army upon paper; but the real number always falls short of this list. For it is probable that the effective troops on the peace establishment scarcely exceed 200,000; and the Russians have seldom brought into the field more than 100,000 effective men\*.

\* In consequence of the territorial acquisitions, the army has been since increased; according to Mr. Tooke's account, its nominal force amounts to 600,000 men, including irregulars, of whom he considers 500,000 as effective. *View of the Russian empire*, Vol. II. p. 251, 2d edition.

## C H A P. 3.

Rise and progress of the English trade with Russia.—Commerce of the British Factory of St. Petersburg.—Exports and imports.

**T**HE commercial intercourse between Russia and the northern parts of Germany was begun and carried on by the Hanseatic towns, which, in 1276, established factories at Novogorod and Plescof\*, and for a considerable period entirely engrossed the trade of this empire.

The accidental discovery of Archangel, in 1553, transferred a great part of this lucrative commerce to the English. On the 11th of May, three ships sailed from Deptford, to explore the North Seas, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. Two of these vessels penetrated as high as the 72d degree of latitude, to the coast of Spitzbergen; and being afterwards forced by stresses of weather into the bay of the river Arzina in Russian Lapland, both crews were frozen to death.

Richard Chancellor, who commanded the other ship, called the Bonaventure, discovering

\* The merchants of Hamburgh and Lubec, and of the other Hanseatic towns, in carrying on this traffic, usually sailed to Revel or Narva, and from thence passed through Dorpt to Plescof and Novogorod. S. R. G. V. p. 418; and Bus. Hist. Mag. X. 291.

the



the country bordering on the White Sea, landed near the mouth of the Dvina, in a bay, which he denominated the Bay of St. Nicholas, from a convent, near the present port of Archangel. Information of his arrival being dispatched to Ivan Vassilievitch II. the tzar summoned him to Moscow, distinguished him with many marks of kindness and attention, received in the most favourable manner a letter from Edward VI. \*, and permitted the English to open a commerce with Russia. On Chancellor's return, a Russian company was established by queen Mary, and in 1555 he again repaired to Moscow, accompanied by several merchants of the incorporated society, to whom the tzar granted "a free liberty † of trading to any part of his dominions, without paying duties either of export or import, of exercising all kind of merchandizes in his empires and dominions, freely and quietly, without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie."

The correspondence between Elizabeth and Ivan, has been already mentioned ‡; and it is no wonder that the monarch who obtained the promise of an asylum in England, if deposed by

\* Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 253.

† Ib. p. 265, 266, dated Moscow, 7060, the second month of February.

‡ See Vol. II. Book 3. Chap. 5.

his subjects, should confer additional immunities on the new company. These privileges, renewed on different occasions, amounted to monopoly ; “ Ivan forbidding all other persons but the members of the said company, and all other nations but the English, to carry on any traffic to any of the northern coasts of Russia \*.”

During the reign of Ivan, the English company settled colonies in different parts of the empire; one at Kolmogori, where they even obtained grants of land, erected warehouses, and formed a rope-walk ; others at Novogorod and Vologda. Their chief establishment was at Moscow, where the tzar built for their residence a large brick edifice, called the embassador’s house. The principal merchandize which the first English ships exported from Russia, were furs and skins, masts, flax, hemp, cordage, tallow, train-oil, tar, pitch, and leather †. Their imports were chiefly cloths of all sorts, cottons, and tin.

Another unexpected advantage was derived from this connection with Russia. Ivan Vassilievitch, having conquered the Tartars of Casan and Astracan, extended his dominions as far as the Caspian Sea, and established a communication with the Persians and Bucharians ‡. Ani-

\* Hackluyt, p. 462.

† Hackluyt, Vol. I. p. 298—306.

‡ Russian Discoveries, Part III. Chap. I.



mated with the hopes of gain, the English factory obtained a patent for an exclusive trade with Persia and Bucharia; and several merchants passed through Moscow to the countries beyond the Caspian.

At the death of Ivan, the English lost their great support; and, on the accession of Feodor, the confirmation of their immunities was for some time refused: this refusal was owing to the impatience of Sir Jerome Bowes, the English ambassador, who, by his supercilious deportment offended the Russian nobility, and occasioned a revocation of the patent. In 1586, Jerome Horsey, the English agent at Moscow, obtained the re-establishment of several immunities; and, in 1588, Giles Fletcher\*, concluded, through the interest of Boris Godunof, a treaty of league and amity between Elizabeth and Feodor, the second article of which contained, "A confirmation and re-establishment of the former privileges of the companie of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countrys hereafter †."

\* Fletcher, who went this embassy, and has published a curious Account of Russia, was fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

† Hackluyt, Vol. I. p. 473.

At length the grant of exclusive trade seems to have been finally revoked by Boris Godunof, who extended to the Dutch several immunities which had been hitherto peculiar to the English, and reinstated the Hanseatic towns in their ancient traffic to Novogorod and Plescof\*. Still however, the privileges which remained to the factory were considerable, consisting in a commerce free of duty to any part of the Russian dominions.

At the revolution which placed Demetrius upon the throne, the English factory conceived a strong hope of recovering its patent of exclusive trade.

But his untimely fate prevented the good effects of his favourable intentions, and the civil calamities which, subsequent to his assassination, desolated Russia, almost annihilated the English commerce. But these troubles being terminated by the election of Michael, Sir James Merricke, ambassador from James I. to the court of Moscow, obtained from the new tzar a fresh patent in favour of the company; which allowed them, as before, a free trade, without paying duties or customs, to Archangel, and from thence to Kolmogori, Novogorod, Moscow, and other parts of his dominions †.

This

\* S. R. G. V. p. 159.

† As long as there was no town at the mouth of the Dvina, the merchandize was sent to Kolmogori, and from thence into the interior



This beneficial commerce was, in 1648, suddenly annihilated by Alexèy Michaelovitch, who banished the English merchants from his dominions. The cause of this expulsion is generally imputed to the resentment conceived by the tzar against the English, for the execution of Charles I. \*, with whom he was closely connect-

terior parts of Russia. Some time in the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, the first foundations of the castle of Archangel were laid: it took its name from a monastery built in honour of the *Archangel* Michael. This spot soon increased to a town, and became the great staple of the English trade. See S. R. G. VII. p. 470.

\* In the midst of the Khitaigorod at Moscow, there is an ancient gateway, which forms the entrance into the printing-office of the Holy Synod: it is of curious workmanship, ornamented with figures of the lion and unicorn grotesquely carved in wood. These being the supporters of the Royal arms of England, authors have conjectured that this gateway was the entrance to the hotel, constructed by order of Ivan Vassilievitch, for the residence of the English ambassador, and that the tzar Alexèy was so offended at the execution of Charles, that he converted it into a printing-office. It is probable, indeed, from the figures of the lion and unicorn, that this gateway had some reference to the English, although it was not the ambassador's hotel, that being situated near the church of St. Maximus, in another part of the Khitaigorod; but it evidently appears, from an inscription over the gateway, that this building was not converted into a printing-office on account of the execution of Charles. The inscription denotes, that Michael Feodorovitch, and his son Alexèy, caused these apartments and this gate to be constructed in the printing-house, June 39th, 7152, or, according to our æra, 1645: a plain proof that the establishment of the printing-house was prior, by at least three years, to the execution of Charles, and could have no reference to that event.

ed by leagues of amity and alliance; but in effect he abolished the company's privileges the year before that event. His indignation against the English was only a political pretext; the real motive being derived from the offers of the the Dutch to pay duties of export and import, to the amount of 15 per cent. if they were indulged with the liberty of carrying on as free a trade as the English. For not long afterwards, the tzar suffered William Prideaux, Cromwel's agent, to reside at Archangel, and permitted the English to renew their commerce in that port on the same footing with other foreigners\*. It appears also, from Milton's and Thurloe's State Papers, that the tzar not only received several letters from Cromwel, and returned answers; but, at the protector's request, even agreed to admit his embassador at Moscow. In consequence of this permission, Richard Bradshaw, Cromwel's resident at Hamburgh, proceeded in his way to Moscow, as far as Mittau, where he was honourably entertained by the duke of Courland; from which town several dispatches passed between Bradshaw and the Russian chancellor, with respect to the superscription of the protector's letter to the tzar, which did not confer on that monarch all the titles he required.

\* Thurloe, Vol. II. p. 558—562.



This seems to have been merely a pretext, as Bradshaw asserts, to prolong the time; and in effect he soon afterwards returned to Hamburgh without having accomplished his intended embassy \*. Cromwel, however, gained a great point in opening the commerce of Archangel to the English; and although Alexèy could not be induced to grant a free trade into the interior parts of his dominions; yet this exclusion was not peculiar to the English; for he equally prohibited all foreign traffic, except at Archangel †.

Soon after the Restoration, Charles II. desirous of obtaining a renewal of the company's privileges, dispatched the earl of Carlisle to Moscow, who was ordered to represent, that "these very privileges were the basis and foundation on which the amity of the two crowns of England and Muscovy were superstructed." The embassy failed of success: the failure was imputed to the haughty deportment of the ambassador, who expressed disgust at the bad accommodations in Russia, did not pay sufficient court to the ministers and favourites of the tzar, tendered repeated remonstrances in a manner totally repugnant to the Russian custom, and, under a false notion of maintaining the dignity of his sovereign, object-

\* See Milton's Works, p. 1657. Thurloe, Vol. III. p. 258, and VI. 408. 432. 439.

† Thurloe, Vol. II. p. 598.

ed to the Russian ceremonial. It is much to be questioned, however, if the earl of Carlisle had acted a less impolitic part, whether the Russian court would have renewed the charter of the company in its full extent, particularly the exemption from duties of export and import; since the Dutch readily paid the customs. The earl of Carlisle could only obtain a permission that the English should trade freely into the Russian dominions, but remain subject to the duties of export and import. From that period the British commerce has suffered no interruption\*.

Archangel continued the sole port for the exports and imports of Russia, until the building of St. Peterburgh, when Peter the Great removed the commerce of the White Sea to the havens of the Baltic†. The British merchants, who were highly favoured by that monarch, settled in the new metropolis, which suddenly became the principal mart for the Russian trade. The privileges

\* Except the short interval under Paul.

† In 1752, Elizabeth again restored the ancient immunities of Archangel; and its present trade is not inconsiderable. The port supplies the government of Archangel, and part of those of Nishnei-Novogorod and Casan, with European commodities, and draws in exchange from those parts corn, flax, hemp, coarse linen, cordage, sails, masts, tallow, which are mostly conveyed by the Dvina: it forms also a principal communication with the northern and western parts of Siberia, from whence furs, skins, and iron are procured.



of the British factory established in Russia are confirmed by a solemn treaty of commerce and navigation, concluded in 1734 between George II. and the empress Anne; and since renewed, between his present Majesty and Catharine II\*.

The whole trade of St. Petersburg in exports and imports for 1777, with the English and other nations, was,

|            |   |   |             |   |             |   |
|------------|---|---|-------------|---|-------------|---|
| In exports | - | - | £.2,400,000 | } | £.4,000,000 | 0 |
| Imports    | - | - | 1,600,000   | } |             |   |

Balance in favour of Russia - 800,000

The British share in this trade is

|                        |   |   |             |    |   |             |    |
|------------------------|---|---|-------------|----|---|-------------|----|
| † In the exports about | - | - | £.1,508,782 | 6  | } | £.1,932,724 | 18 |
| Imports                | - | - | 423,942     | 12 | } |             |    |

Gain - - - 1,084,839 14

Consequently, the trade with all other nations (the Russian subjects included) is

|                |   |   |            |    |   |             |   |
|----------------|---|---|------------|----|---|-------------|---|
| In the exports | - | - | £. 891,217 | 14 | } | £.2,067,275 | 2 |
| Imports        | - | - | 1,176,057  | 8  | } |             |   |

Loss - - - 284,839 14

From hence it is evident Russia gains annually by her trade with the British subjects about - - £.1,084,839 14

And that she loses by her trade with all other nations - - - 284,839 14

Remains annually a clear gain of about - 800,000 0

But should the contraband traffic (in which the value of the imports far exceeds that of the exports, and in which the British have little or no concern) be included, it will considerably diminish the balance of these commercial profits, as just stated.

According to this statement, half the trade of St. Petersburg is in the hands of the English; but as their exports and imports in 1777

\* The reader will find the first treaty of 1734 in Rouffet's Supplement to Dumont's Corps Diplomatique, vol. III. p. 495; and the last, of 1766, in a Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, vol. II. p. 309—327.

† See British Exports and Imports, Appendix, No. 2.

exceeded those of the preceding or subsequent years, this estimate may be considered as too highly rated: we may fairly however allow, upon the most moderate computation, that a third of this commerce is carried on by our factory.

The average number of merchant ships, which annually arrive from England at the port of Cronstadt, with goods laden for St. Petersburg, may be collected from the following table:

| Years. | Ships. | Years. | Ships. | Years. | Ships. | Years. | Ships. |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1753   | - 149  | 1758   | - 161  | 1763   | - 149  | 1773   | - 319  |
| 1754   | - 236  | 1759   | - 206  | 1767   | - 200  | 1774   | - 318  |
| 1755   | - 160  | 1760   | - 137  | 1768   | - 237  | 1776   | - 320  |
| 1756   | - 186  | 1761   | - 130  | 1769   | - 322  | 1777   | - 366  |
| 1757   | - 129  | 1762   | - 153  | 1770   | - 306  | 1778   | - 252  |

The general state of the trade of St. Petersburg in 1778 was,

|            |   |   |             |    |
|------------|---|---|-------------|----|
| In exports | - | - | £.2,042,097 | 8  |
| Imports    | - | - | 1,318,428   | 16 |
|            |   |   | <hr/>       |    |
|            |   |   | 3,360,526   | 4  |

In 1799, the exports from St. Petersburg amounted to 38,169,925 roubles; the imports 19,290,779.

In 1778 the following number of vessels arrived at Cronstadt:

|            |       |          |       |           |       |
|------------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| English    | - 252 | Dutch    | - 147 | Hamburgh  | - 2   |
| French*    | - 1   | Danish   | - 39  | Strallund | - 1   |
| Spanish    | - 6   | Prussian | - 26  | Bremen    | - 3   |
| Russian    | - 12  | Lubeck   | - 38  |           |       |
| Portuguese | - 2   | Rostock  | - 29  | Total     | - 607 |
| Swedish    | - 47  | Dantzick | - 2   |           |       |

Beside the metropolis, the Russian trade in the Baltic is carried on at Riga, Revel, Narva, and Wiburgh. From Riga † a considerable quantity of corn is exported by the English, Swedes, and Dutch, which is sent down the Duna from

\* The French exports and imports are, in time of war, mostly conveyed in Dutch bottoms, which is the reason why, in 1778, but one French vessel arrived at Cronstadt, although their exports and imports for that year amounted to £.148,753.

† See the account of Riga in the 2d volume.



the provinces of Plescof, Smolensko, and Novogorod: masts are also shipped from the same port. The other exports from this, and the above-mentioned maritime towns, are similar to those of St. Petersburg.

ADDITIONS to the Account of the English  
Commerce.—August, 1801.

By the kind communication of a friend well versed in the Russian commerce, I am enabled to subjoin a statement of the mode in which the British trade is principally conducted.

To enter into all the details of the Russian commerce, from the growth of the raw article in the interior provinces to its arrival at the port for exportation, would require a distinct, and, indeed, a voluminous treatise. But a few observations may give a general idea of an interesting part of the subject, namely, the manner in which the commerce is conducted between Great Britain and Russia.

The particular privileges attached to the guilds, into which the Russian merchants are enrolled, appropriate to them the interior commerce of the country.

A foreigner who imports goods into Russia, must sell them to Russians only, and at the port where they arrive, none but natives being allowed

lowed to send merchandize into the interior of the empire for sale. A few foreigners, indeed, settled in Russia, and having connections with natives, do carry on a trade with the interior; but it is contrary to law, and the goods are liable to seizure.

The late empress, probably with a view to induce foreigners to weave their interests more closely with Russia, by engaging their capital in every department of commerce, proposed certain advantages to those foreigners who would inscribe themselves in guilds, and put themselves on the same footing with her own subjects. The advantages were, under a commercial point of view, very considerable. They greatly diminished the heavy duties on several articles\*, and permission was granted to trade into the country, that is, to carry imported articles to the best market, and to purchase the native products either by themselves or agents. Notwithstanding, however, the probability of being underfold by foreigners, and even by some few of their own countrymen, a large majority of the British merchants refused to resign, or even to risk that character and independence which they had so long and honourably sus-

\* Foreign merchants were obliged to pay these duties in foreign coin, instead of Russian bank notes, or copper money, which made a difference of 25 or 30 per cent.



tained as British subjects, protected by Russian laws.

If their determination did honour to their firmness, the event proved (what could not be foreseen) that it even promoted their interest. The Russians soon perceived, that if foreigners, with all their intelligence and large capitals at command, could, like themselves, penetrate the country, the principal emoluments would pass into other hands, and they counteracted the attempts of the new speculators. Even when the privilege was granted to British subjects, by the Treaty of Commerce concluded by his majesty's late minister at the court of St. Petersburg, it was impossible to derive any solid advantage from it; for, although the right of sending goods into the interior was no longer disputed; yet, by the revival of corporation laws, till that time considered as obsolete, it was found that goods belonging to foreigners in passing through different towns would be subject to such heavy duties, that the Russians were able considerably to undersell the British merchants who engaged in these adventures.

The Russians, therefore, as connected with British commerce, form two distinct classes, first, the grower of the raw articles, as hemp, flax, &c. or the proprietor of them, as of tallow, bristles, &c. These are, generally speaking, the  
owners

owners of the soil and of the peasants where the articles are produced.

The manufacturers of linens, sailcloth, &c. purchase the yarn of the peasants, who grow the flax, and make the yarn; it is then manufactured into raven ducks, flems, and drillings, entirely in their own fabrics, and these articles are seldom, if ever, sold on contract, previous to their arrival at St. Peterburgh. The Russia linens (known in this country by the name of flaxen linens, crash, and diaper) are made entirely by the peasants; and for this article the Russian merchant is in a manner only the factor, as he buys them ready made, and carries them to St. Peterburgh for sale. In the manufacture of their sail-cloth, the same circumstance occurs.

The second class of Russian merchants are, more properly speaking, factors; these alone make the contracts with the British merchant at the ports of Russia, and while most of them possess neither capital nor goods, they derive large profits from their commercial transactions.

From the month of November, till the shipping season in May, the Russians, who trade in hemp, flax, tallow, bristles, wax, oil, hides, iron, and many other articles, (except manufactures and linens) either come themselves to St. Peterburgh,



tersburgh, or employ agents to sell their goods to foreigners, to be delivered according to agreement, in May, June, July, or August. The payments are made according to the circumstances of the sellers and buyers; and sometimes the buyer pays the whole amount, in the winter months, for the goods which are to be delivered in the summer or autumn; at others, he pays a part on concluding the contract, and the remainder on delivery of the goods. The manufacturers and dealers in linens usually come to St. Petersburg in March, and sell their goods for ready money.

The foreign goods were formerly almost entirely sold on twelve months credit, and some on a still longer term; but lately, several articles, such as coffee and sugar, are sold at St. Petersburg for ready money; still, however, the interior is supplied with foreign goods on credit, and most of the woollen trade in St. Petersburg is carried on by allowing the Russians a long credit with the goods. Many, I might almost say all the Russians, who buy goods on credit of foreigners, for the supply of the interior, have no other connections or trade with St. Petersburg, than merely coming there once or twice a year to purchase goods on credit, which having accomplished, they set off with the goods,

goods, and the foreigner neither sees nor hears of them again till the bills become due. By the laws of Russia, none but merchants inscribed in the guilds are allowed to trade; and in case any person not inscribed (that is, a peasant) contracts a debt for more than five roubles, he cannot be prosecuted, nor is he liable beyond that sum. Notwithstanding this law, a great many peasants do trade, and actually purchase goods of foreigners on long credit.

It may not be improper here to notice the fallacious, though specious statement of the author of the Secret Memoirs of the Court of St. Petersburg respecting the trade between Great Britain and Russia. He says, the English take away leather, and bring shoes; take grain, and return beer; and send ships laden with hardware in exchange for iron, timber, &c. In the first place, it may be remarked, neither shoes, beer, nor hardware are allowed to be imported, nor has any timber been received from Russia for a considerable time.

The author has carefully kept in the back ground an essential point which proves the mutual interests of Great Britain and Russia to be inseparable. It would, in the present state of things, subject Russia to great inconvenience, were she merely to carry on, as the above-mentioned



tioned author proposes, an immediate exchange of produce. Before this produce can be brought to the ports of Russia, a very considerable capital is required; and by the advance of this capital, not by the exchange of manufactures against raw articles, Great Britain renders her trade reciprocally beneficial to Russia.

It will be evident that to conduct an extensive commerce on this system, requires considerable intelligence, an intimate acquaintance with, and unlimited confidence in the native merchants. Nothing can reflect more honour on the Russians, as a commercial people, than that the British merchants are in constant habits of intrusting to them the immense sums employed in the trade with that country, without any security beyond a personal knowledge.

The trade has thus been conducted for upwards of three centuries; and if the favourable disposition, and the character of Alexander did not preclude reflection on past transactions, the interruption which has lately taken place, and the temporary suspension of confidence could never be too deeply lamented. So many comforts have been derived from a residence in the metropolis of St. Peterburgh, that not only English capital has been employed in the commerce, but the possessors of that capital  
have

have themselves directed its employment; so that, excepting in one or two instances, the commerce with Great Britain is not conducted through the medium of mere agents, as formerly; but the English merchant resident in St. Petersburg has the sole and independent command of the capital which he embarks in commerce.

Another circumstance connected with the British trade is too curious to be passed in silence. Every mercantile house in St. Petersburg employs certain men, called, in the language of the country, Artelschicks, who are the counting-house men, and employed by every merchant to collect payment on bills, to receive money, as well as in many instances to pay it in very considerable sums. This is an important part of their trust. There being no bankers in Russia, every mercantile house keeps its own cash; and as the payments between merchants, and for bills of exchange, are made entirely in bank notes of no higher value than five, ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred roubles, most of them in so tattered a state, as to require several hours to count over a sum of two or three thousand pounds; this business is performed by artelschicks, and very few instances have occurred of loss by their inattention, either in miscounting the notes, in taking false notes,

or,



or, where they are much torn, in receiving parts of different bank notes.

These artelschicks are also employed to superintend the loading and unloading the different cargoes; they receive the most valuable into the warehouse, where they are left solely under their care; and in these warehouses not merely merchandise, but often large quantities of dollars are deposited. These Russians are mostly natives of Archangel and the adjacent governments, of the lowest class, are often slaves, generally of the crown; and the only security of the merchant arises in some degree from the natural reluctance of the Russian to betray confidence reposed in him; but in a much greater from the nature of their association, which is called an Artel.

An Artel consists of a certain number of labourers, who voluntarily become responsible, as a body, for the honesty of each individual. The separate earnings of each man are put into the common stock, a monthly allowance is made for his support, and at the end of the year the surplus is equally divided. The number varies in different associations from 50 to 100; and so advantageous is it considered to belong to one of these societies, that 500, and even 1000 roubles are paid for admission. These societies are not bound by any law of the empire, or even written

ten

ten agreement; nor does the merchant restrain them under any legal obligation; yet there has been no instance of their objecting to any just claim, or of protecting an individual whose conduct had brought a demand on the society.



## C H A P. 4.

Rise, progress, and termination of the English trade on the Caspian Sea.—Commerce of the Russians in the same quarter.—Description of the principal ports.—Exports and imports.—Average value of the trade.—Commerce with the Bucharians and Chinese.

**I**N the 14th century, the Venetians and Genoese drew, by means of the Caspian, through Astracan to their settlements at Azof\* and Caffa, the Indian, Persian, and Arabian merchandize, with which they furnished the south of Europe. The northern part of this continent was supplied likewise, through Astracan, with Asiatic goods, by the Russian merchants of Ladoga on the Volkof, who sent them to their principal storehouse at Wisby, a Hanseatic town in the Isle of Gothland. The devastation occasioned by the wars of Tamerlane, at the end of the 14th century, turned this trade from Astracan to Smyrna and Aleppo. The commerce of Arabia, more commodious for those ports, never returned to

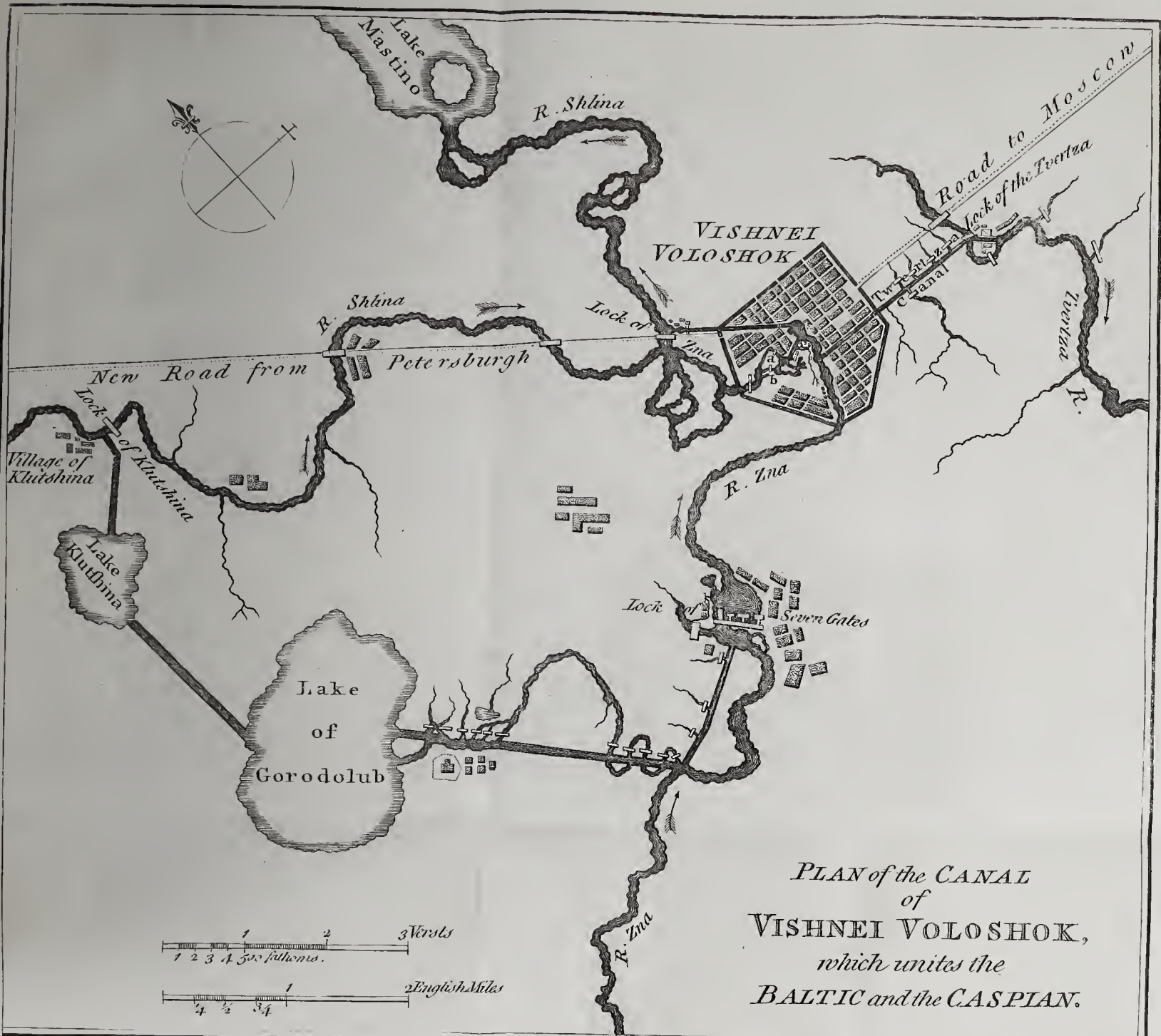
\* See Guldenstaedt's *Treatise Von den Hafen am Caspischen Meere*, in *Journ. St. Pet.* for 1777.

The Indian goods were brought, for the most part, through Persia, across the Caspian to Astracan, from thence up the Volga, then by land to the Don, and down that river to Azof.

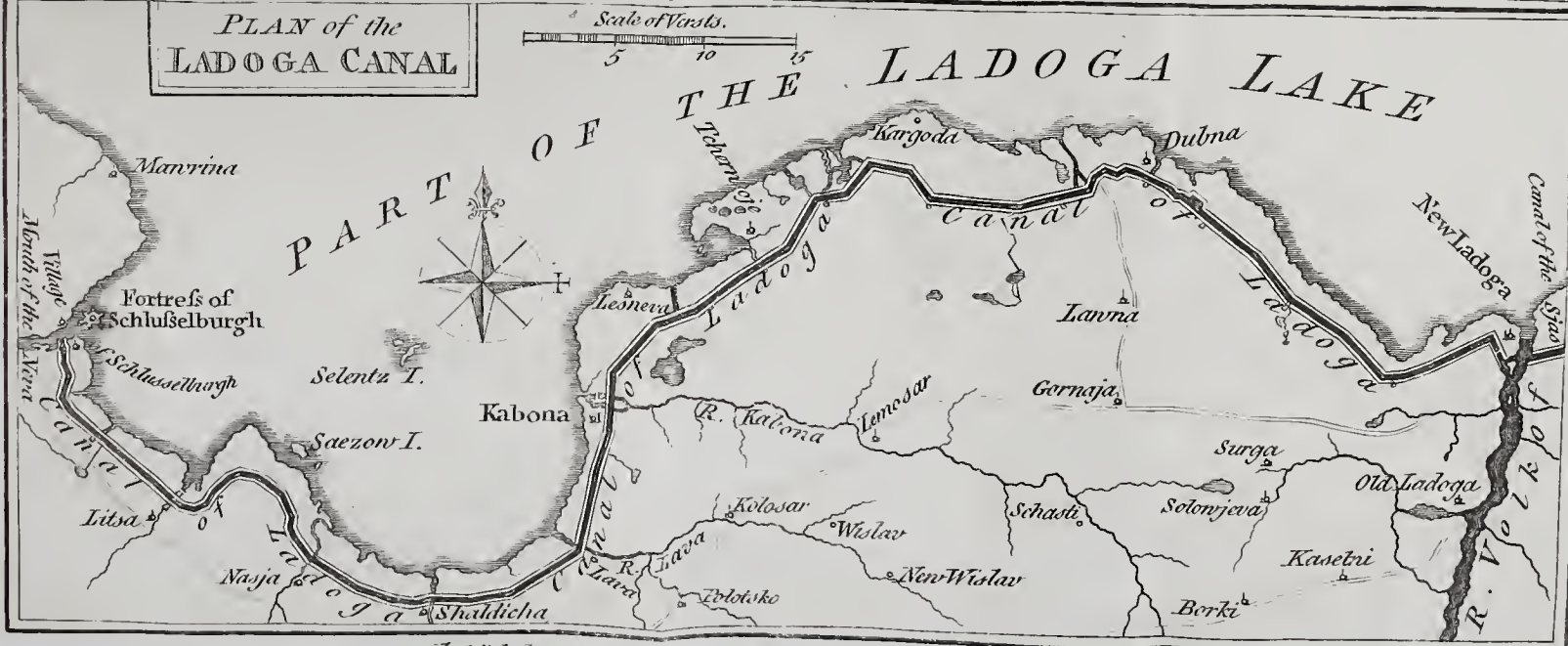
Astracan;







PLAN of the  
LADOGA CANAL



Astracan ; but part of the Persian traffic was afterwards restored to its old channel.

While the provinces of Casan and Astracan were under the government of the Tartars, the camp, or head-quarters of the khan, was a mart for the Russian and Persian merchants. But as, according to the custom of the roving Tartars, it was frequently changed, Astracan and Terki\* became at length two principal places of resort. This commerce, impeded and frequently interrupted by the numerous banditti, was precarious ; until the conquest of Casan and Astracan opened a ready communication between Moscow and the Caspian Sea ; Ivan Vassilievitch II. having garrisoned Astracan with troops, rendered it the chief emporium of the eastern trade. This conquest being completed in 1554, soon after the discovery of Archangel, the English obtained the tzar's permission to pass through his dominions into Persia, and carry on an exclusive trade over the Caspian.

Jenkinson was the first Englishman who navigated that sea. In 1558, he landed at Mangushlak upon the Eastern shore, passed by land through the country of the Turkoman Tartars to Boghara, capital of Great Bucharia, and returned to

\* Terki was situated near the river Terek, upon the western shore of the Caspian : no traces of it remain, as the site is covered by the sea.



Moscow the following year. In 1561, he again sailed over the Caspian, and, proceeding to the coast of Shirvan, went by land to Casbin, the residence of the sophy, from whom he obtained a permission of trading into Persia. Several merchants followed his example. The last expedition was made, in 1597, by Christopher Burroughs; whose ship being, on its return, shattered by the ice in the mouth of the Volga, he and his crew escaped with difficulty, and arrived at Astracan after many dangers\*. During these expeditions the traffic was chiefly confined to the ports of Tumen, Derbent, Baku, and the coast of Ghilan.

The disasters which attended the voyage of Burroughs, the banditti frequenting the shores of the Caspian, and the wars between the Turks and Persians, obstructed the infant commerce; and during above a century and a half no English vessel appeared upon this sea. At length, in 1741, the British merchants of St. Petersburg, at the persuasion of captain Elton, an Englishman in the Russian service, renewed the commerce, and established a factory at Reshd in the province of Ghilan. Some disputes unfortunately arising; as well between the English themselves, as between the Russians and Elton,

\* Hackluyt, p. 324—430. S. R. G. VIII. 426—473.

he entered into the service of Nadir Shah, and assisted in constructing some vessels on the Caspian. This circumstance gave umbrage to the court of St. Petersburg, and Elizabeth, in 1746, withdrew her permission to the English merchants, of passing through her dominions for the Caspian commerce. On the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, who, in consequence of Elton's influence, had permitted the English to trade to Persia, their factory was pillaged by one of the pretenders to the throne, and their commerce annihilated\*.

The Russians pursued with perseverance the track opened by our merchants, and under Alexèy Michaelovitch, Astracan became the centre of the Persian trade; to which place merchants from Bucharia, Crim Tartary, Armenia, Persia, and even India, resorted. The vessels of the Russians being rudely framed, without decks, and of course exposed to constant shipwrecks†, the tzar drew from Amsterdam several ship-builders, for the purpose of constructing vessels more calculated to weather the storms of this sea; but these designs being frustrated by

\* See Hanway's British trade over the Caspian Sea, in his Travels, Vols. I. and II.; and Chap. xxxiii. in the second volume of Cooke's Travels through the Russian Empire to Persia. Both these accounts, however contradictory to each other, sufficiently prove the unfortunate misunderstandings which had arisen between the English who engaged in this trade.

† S. R. G. VII. p. 499.



the rebellion of the Cossacs of the Don, under Stenko Razin\*, the trade of Russia was annihilated by their devastations. On the quelling of the revolt, and punishment of their leader, the greater part of the commerce fell into the hands of the Armenian merchants established in Astracan, who settled factories both in the Russian and Persian territories†.

During this whole period the Russian and Armenian traders penetrated no further than Niezabad, a port between Derbent and Baku; and their chief settlement was at Shamakee, capital of Shirvan, until 1711, when that town was taken by the Lefgees, and the factory destroyed.

In 1721, this commerce was again revived: Peter having marched an army into Persia, overran the provinces of Dagestan, Shirvan, Ghilan, and Masanderan, on the Eastern and Southern coasts of the Caspian, and obtained their cession by a formal treaty. Soon afterwards, he established a Russian company trading to the Caspian; but the whole capital consisted only of 400 shares, of the value of £. 30 each. The chief settlements were formed at Astracan and Kislar.

The possession of these distant provinces prov-

\* Busching, IX. 86—88. For an account of Stenko Razin, see Schmidt, Russ. Gef. Vol. II. p. 32. Motley's History of Catharine, Vol. I. p. 227.

† S. R. G. VII. p. 505.

ing expensive, and of little advantage, Anne restored them to the sophy \* on condition that the Russian merchants should enjoy liberty of trade to all the havens of the Caspian without paying duty, should be allowed to build houses and magazines, and not be subject to the laws of the country †. The privileges of this company were confirmed by Anne and Elizabeth; but the commerce was inconsiderable until the reign of Catharine II. who, in 1762, abolished this exclusive right, and permitted all her subjects to trade with Persia; prohibiting, on account of the numerous banditti who infest the roads, the inland traffic from Kiflar, and the other Caspian ports to Shamakee. Two Russian consuls reside at Baku and Einzellee ‡. These regulations, however, cannot prevent the contraband trade which is carried on at Shamakee, and the other inland towns of Persia, by the Armenian merchants; who, from their knowledge of the country and language, undersell the Russians.

Astracan, situated on an island in a branch of the Volga, is the great staple of the Caspian commerce; and, by means of that river, is readily supplied with European merchandize from the ports of the Baltic §. Although Astracan

\* S. R. G. I. p. 154, &c.

† Guldenstaedt.

‡ Guldenstaedt, p. 243.

§ Hanway, p. 141.



is only in the 47th degree of latitude, yet the cold is extremely intense in winter; and for two months the Volga is generally frozen so hard as to be passed over by heavy-laden sledges\*. Large tracts of forest on the banks of that river, in the province of Casan, furnish sufficient oak and timber for the construction of vessels for the Caspian sea.

The Caspian is 680 miles in length, from Gurief to Medshetifar, and in no part more than 260 in breadth. It has no tide; and, on account of shoals, is navigable only by vessels drawing from 9 to 10 feet water; it has strong currents, and, like all inland seas, is subject to violent storms†, which the Russian vessels, wretchedly constructed, weather with difficulty: the waters are brackish. The Uralian Cossacs enjoy the right of fishing on the coast 47 miles on each side of the river Ural; and the inhabitants of Astracan possess the exclusive privilege on the remaining shores belonging to Russia. The roe of sturgeons and beluga supply large quantities of caviare; and the fish, which are chiefly salted and dried, form a considerable article of consumption in the Russian empire. The Caspian abounds with sea-dogs, which are hunted and caught in great numbers‡.

\* Gmelin, Vol. II. p. 84.

† Hanway, Vol. I. p. 393.

‡ Jour. St. Pet. p. 253; S. R. G. VII. p. 525. For a list of the fish in the Caspian, see Gmelin, Vol. II. p. 246.

The ports of the Caspian may be divided into Russian, Persian, and Tartar.

The Russian ports and trading places are,  
1. Gurief; 2. Kislar.

1. Gurief, situated on the mouth of the Yaik or Ural, near a bay of the Caspian, is a small but strong fortress, which guards the frontiers of the Russian empire towards the territory of the Kirghees Tartars. The place contains scarcely a hundred houses; and, except the garrison, has no inhabitants but a few merchants from Astracan, who trade with the neighbouring Tartars \*. 2. The fortress of Kislar stands near the Eastern coast, and covers the frontiers towards the limits of Persia. Vessels formerly entered the southern branch of the Terek; but as the mouths of that river are now choked up, the merchandize is landed in a small bay at the distance of 34 miles. Kislar draws from Astracan the European commodities necessary for the Persian traffic, together with corn and provision for the Russian colonies on the Terek, and for the neighbouring district of Mount Caucasus. Beside the goods which are disposed of at Kislar, and sent to the Persian ports, the inhabitants carry on a contraband trade to Shamakee, Derbent, and even Tiflis in Georgia, which is ex-

\* Pallas Reise, I. 424. &c.



ceedingly precarious from the numerous banditti who pillage the caravans.

Before I enumerate the principal Persian havens, it would be necessary to acquaint the reader to whom belong the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, Mafanderan, and Astrabad, in which countries the ports resorted to by the Russians are situated. But the unsettled state of Persia, and the civil wars which continue to harass that divided empire, render it difficult to ascertain that point \*. In general, those provinces are governed by their own khans, who, though tributary to the sophy, render themselves occasionally independent; and as they are continually at war with each other, their governments are the seat of almost perpetual hostility, rapine, and de-

\* On the assassination of Nadir Shah, in 1747, various competitors presented themselves to fill the vacant throne; and in less than two years eight sovereigns had reigned, been deposed, or assassinated; when Kerim Khan, one of Nadir's generals, subdued all his rivals, and made himself master of all Persia. He reigned thirty years, and fixed his residence in his favourite city of Shirauz. On his death, in 1779, Persia was again exposed to all the horrors of a disputed succession, and divided between the two principal competitors. Akau Mahomed Khan, a Persian of high distinction, who was castrated in his infancy by order of Nadir Shah, and who, like Narses, possessed great civil and military talents, was, in 1788, master of Mazanderan and Ghilan, as well as the cities of Ispahan and Tauris. Jaafar Khan, nephew of Kerim Khan, was at that period sovereign of Shirauz, the capital, and of the Southern provinces.—Franklin's Tour from Bengal to Persia, p. 278—351.

vastation. Meanwhile, the trade flourishes or diminishes in proportion as the exactions of the sovereigns are more or less frequent and exorbitant.

The Persian havens are, 1. Derbent; 2. Niezabad; 3. Baku; 4. Einzellee; 5. Farabat; 6. Medihetifar; 7. Astrabad.

1. Derbent is the worst port in the Caspian; if it can be called a port, where vessels can seldom approach the shore; on account of sands and shoals, but are generally obliged to anchor at the distance of three quarters of a mile: from this circumstance, joined to the inconsiderable degree of commerce, it is little frequented. Derbent, in the province of Shirvan, is a Persian fortress, surrounded by high brick walls; the inhabitants are chiefly Persians, Tartars, and a few Armenians. Two or three Russian ships are annually bound for Derbent; they are usually laden with oats and rye, and carry iron, steel, and lead for the Lesgees and other Tartar nations, who inhabit the Eastern chain of the Caucasus. The neighbourhood produces some corn, but not sufficient for the consumption of the place. 2. Niefovaia Pristan, or Niezabad, was formerly the port most frequented by the Russians, and chiefly visited by the merchants of Shamakee, who supplied the province of Shirvan with European commodities. Near the



harbour are several wretched villages. 3. Baku is esteemed the most commodious haven, as vessels may securely anchor in seven fathoms water; but the number of shoals, islands, and sand-banks, render the entrance extremely difficult and dangerous, particularly to the Russians, who are not expert sailors. Baku is a fortress surrounded with high brick walls: the inhabitants, like those of Derbent, are Persians, Tartars, and a few Armenian merchants. The principal articles of exportation are naphtha, and rock salt, of both which there are mines on the east side of the bay. The inhabitants cultivate saffron and the cotton-tree, but not to any considerable advantage. The trade of Baku, though more valuable than that of Derbent, is still inconsiderable, and chiefly carried on with Shamakee, from whence it draws raw silk and silken stuffs. A Russian consul is resident at this place\*. Before we quit the province of Shirvan, it may not be improper to mention its capital, the inland town of Shamakee, which is only 66 miles from Baku, and supplies that port with raw silk and silken stuffs. Shamakee owed its commercial importance to the silk which is cultivated in the neighbouring district, and still preserves the town from ruin, though the

\* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 52, &c. Guldenstaedt.

traffic is greatly reduced by the exorbitant exactions of the khan of Kuba; it was also crowded with Turkish and Greek merchants; but at present contains only a few Armenian and Indian traders. The inhabitants manufacture silk and cotton stuffs, far inferior to those made in the beginning of the century. The silk of this province is exported into the interior part of Persia, Turkey, Georgia, and Russia. Shamakee still supplies part of Georgia, and the inhabitants of the Eastern chain of Mount Caucasus, with European commodities, principally by means of the traffic with Baku, and the contraband trade with the Armenians and Russians\*.

4. Einzellee, though a wretched village, is the most frequented for the Persian commerce: formerly vessels entered through the channel into a bay; but this bay being choked up, are obliged to lie at anchor in the road. Einzellee is situated on the south-western coast, a few miles north of Reshd, capital of the province of Ghilan: it consists of Old and New Einzellee; the former inhabited by the Persians and Armenians, under the jurisdiction of the foply, the latter, by the Russian merchants, and those Armenians who are subject to Russia. A garrison of thirty soldiers is stationed under the

\* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 60, &c.



command of the consul. It contains a Russian and Armenian church, and about 300 houses, mostly formed with reed. The refuse only of the Persian and European commodities is exposed to sale at Einzellee; the great mart being at Reshd, where the Russians have erected booths, to which place a conflux of merchants from Tauris, and the principal cities of Persia, Armenia, and even Turkey, resort, in order to purchase the raw silk and manufactures of Ghilan. Hence the Russians dispose of their European commodities to considerable advantage, and obtain in return the productions of this rich province. The manufactures \* and silk of Ghilan, esteemed the best in Persia, have been in such repute for these last fifty years, that Reshd is become one of first commercial towns in this part of Asia. The finest sort is usually white, and chiefly sent into the interior cities of Persia, or sold to the Turks; the inferior kind is yellow, and principally disposed of to the Russians. There is such a constant demand for the silk of Ghilan †, that the price rises every year. Reshd supplies the bordering provinces of Persia, and the independent neighbouring states as far as

\* See, in Gmelin, vol. III. p. 415, a list of the manufactures of Ghilan.

† For an account of the silk of Ghilan, see Gmelin, vol. III. p. 412. Harway, vol. II. p. 16. S. R. G. VII. p. 515.

Georgia, with European merchandize, except the goods which are transported immediately from Astracan, through Kislár and Mostok, to the nearest parts of Georgia, and of the neighbouring mountains; and those sent from Shamakee, to the Lefgees Tartars, and other independent tribes \*. 5. Farabat, and 6, Medshetifar, are situated on the southern coast, in the province of Masanderan; they are both small villages, of which Medshetifar is most commercial, from its vicinity to Balfrusch, capital of the province, where the Russians and Armenians convey their merchandize: the traffic, however, is much less considerable than formerly, a circumstance owing to the impositions of the khan of Masanderan. The chief productions of this country are silk, far inferior to that of Ghilan; rice and cotton, of which articles there is a large exportation. Merchants from Kaskan, Ispahan, Schirafs, and Khorasan, resort to Balfrusch, and bring for sale the Persian and Indian commodities †. 7. The bay of Astrabad, where the Russians land and proceed to the capital. The productions of this province, and its exports and imports, are nearly similar to those of Masanderan. The commerce of Astrabad is chiefly with Candahar.

\* Gmelin, vol. III, p. 414.      † Gmelin, vol. III. p. 459.



The Tartar havens are, 1. The Bay of Balkan; 2. Mangushlak, both of which, but particularly the latter, afford a secure harbour. 1. The Russians frequent the islands in the bay of Balkan; inhabited chiefly by pirates of the race of Turkoman Tartars: these islands produce rice and cotton, and one of them, called Naphthonia, abounds in naphtha. The traffic might be increased to the advantage of Russia; as it would be far more commodious to trade with the Tartars of Khiva and Bucharia from these parts, than from Orenburgh, through the country of the warlike and independent Kirghees. 2. The commerce of Mangushlak is most considerable: the neighbouring Tartars bring to this place the productions of their own country, and even of Bucharia, such as cotton, yarn, and stuffs, furs and skins, and rhubarb \*.

The principal commodities exported from Astracan to the ports of the Caspian sea, are cloths, chiefly English, Dutch, French, and Silesian; vitriol, soap, allum, sugar, Russian leather, needles, and cotton stuffs, coarse linen manufactured in Russia, velvets, glassware and looking-glasses, writing paper, a few furs and skins, a small quantity of tea, provisions, chiefly corn and butter, wine, brandy, wooden furniture, sea-horse teeth; also iron, brass, tin, lead, hardware, watches, &c. &c. In 1775, the value of the cloths exported amounted to £.52,600; the cochineal to £.45,600; and the indigo to £.7,000. Imports: Raw and manufactured silks, but chiefly the former, from the provinces of Shirvan and Ghilan; which article, in 1775, amounted to £.43,800. Bucharian lamb-skins, rice, dried fruit, spices and drugs, coffee, wine, saffron, salt,

\* Guldenstedt, p. 265—267.

sulphur, and naphtha. The Indians and merchants of Khiva bring occasionally to Astracan gold and silver in bars, gold-dust, precious stones, and pearls.

The trade of the Caspian sea had considerably declined before the accession of the late empress: by the abolition of monopolies, and by other useful regulations, it has lately increased to such a degree, that within the space of fifteen years the average sum of the exports and imports has been nearly tripled :

|   |                      |                      | Total exports<br>and imports. |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1760,   | { Exports<br>Imports | £. 36,100<br>42,100  | £. 78,200                     |
| Balance against Russia                              | -                    | 6,000                |                               |
| 1768,   | { Exports<br>Imports | £. 87,700<br>63,700  | £. 151,400                    |
| Balance in favour of Russia                         |                      | 24 000               |                               |
| 1775,   | { Exports<br>Imports | £. 125,400<br>64,120 | £. 189,520                    |
| Balance in favour of Russia                         |                      | 61,280               |                               |
| Traffic with Georgia and the natives of<br>Caucasus | -                    | -                    | £. 10,000                     |
| Total in 1775                                       | -                    | -                    | £ 199,520                     |

The contraband trade is not included in this calculation \*.

\* The reader who wishes to trace the rise, progress, and present state of the commerce on the Caspian sea, must consult and compare Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. I. p. 324 to 431; Hanway's British Trade of the Caspian Sea; Cooke's Travels; S. R. G. VII. 103—546; Gmelin's Reise, vol. III.; and Guldenstaedt's Treatise mentioned above.

*Commerce*



*Commerce with the Bucharians and Chinese.*

Under the commerce with the Bucharians \* I comprize that with the Calmucs, and other Tartar nations beyond the frontiers of Siberia; because it is of such little importance as scarcely to deserve a separate article.

The Bucharians, who inhabit the south-western part of Independent Tartary, are a commercial people; their caravans travel through the whole continent of Asia †, and traffic with Russia, Thibet, China, India, and Persia. Russia contains several colonies of Bucharians, who are settled in many large towns of the southern provinces, and maintain a constant communication with the merchants of their own country. Their principal marts are Tomsk, Kiakta, and Orenburgh, which is the most considerable, and chiefly trades with Kaskar, Tashkent, and Khiva ‡. Their caravans are exposed to pillage from the Kirghees Tartars, through whose country they are obliged to pass. Their imports are gold and silver, chiefly in Persian coins and Indian rupees,

\* Having before mentioned the commerce with the Bucharians upon the Eastern coasts of the Caspian, it is needless to enter upon any further detail of it in this place.

† S. R. G. VII. p. 7.

‡ Rytikof Orenb. Top. vol. I. p. 263.

gold-dust\*, precious stones, particularly rubies, lapis lazuli, spun and raw cotton, cotton stuffs in great abundance, both Indian and Bucharian, half-silks, unprepared nitre, native sal-ammoniac, lamb-skins, raw silk in small quantities, and rhubarb, large droves of sheep and horses†. Exports: Cloth, Russian leather, beads and trinkets, hardware, indigo, cochineal, &c.

The Chinese trade is by far the most important part of its Asiatic commerce, and is now carried on at Kiakta, situated upon the frontiers of the Chinese and Russian empires. But having in a former publication‡ given a circumstantial account of this commerce, it will be sufficient to observe, that in 1777, the total sum of importation and exportation, as entered at the custom-house, amounted to £. 573,666.; but if we include the contraband trade, which is

\* This gold-dust is found in the sand of the rivers of Bucharja. This was the principal inducement to the first expeditions of the English merchants over the Caspian into Bucharja, which are related in Hackluyt's Collection. Peter the Great sent several Russian merchants into the country for the same purpose. See S. R. G. IV. p. 183, &c. Rytikof, vol. I. p. 263. Russia Illustrata, vol. II. p. 141.

† Pallas Reise, vol. I. p. 232, &c. The sheep and horses are brought for sale by the Kirgees Tartars. Pallas says, that above 60,000 sheep, and 10,000 horses, are yearly sold at Orenburgh, p. 234.

‡ See an account of the transactions and commerce between Russia and China, in Russian Discoveries, Book III. chap. II.—V.



very considerable, and make an allowance for the deficiencies of the above-mentioned year, which was not so favourable as the preceding, we may fairly estimate the gross amount of the average trade to China, in exports and imports, at near £. 800,000 sterling.

## C H A P. 5.

On the commerce of the Black Sea.—Havens.—Exports and imports.—Ports and territory ceded by the Turks to Russia.—Zaporogian Cossacs.—Productions of the Southern provinces.—Navigation of the Don and Dnieper.—Attempts of the Russians to prosecute the commerce through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean.—Precarious state of that trade.

**P**ETER the Great first attempted to open a commerce through the Euxine, and to export, by that channel, the productions of Southern Russia. By his victories over the Turks, the possession of Azof, and the construction of Taganroc, he seemed on the eve of realizing this favourite project; but all his vast schemes were baffled by the unsuccessful campaign of 1711, which terminated in the peace of Pruth: a peace purchased by the cession of Azof and Taganroc, and by relinquishing the commerce of the Euxine. Since that period the Turks have jealously excluded the Russians from all share in the navigation of their seas, until Catharine finished a successful war against the Porte by the glorious peace of 1774. By this peace Russia obtained a free navigation in all the Turkish seas, a right of passing through the Dardanelles, all the commercial immunities granted to the most fa-



voured nations in amity with the Porte, the towns of Azof and Taganroc, the three fortresses of Kinburn, Kertsh, and Yenikalè, and a large district between the Bog and the Dnieper.

Many speculations have been made concerning the extent and value of the traffic which Russia is likely to establish in the Black Sea, and the revolution which it may effect in the commerce of Europe, by transferring part of the Baltic trade to the ports of the Mediterranean. In consequence of this change, it is asserted, the southern provinces will find a vent for their superfluous productions; the Russian vessels will open a profitable trade with Crim Tartary, with the Austrian provinces at Kilia-Nova, with the Turks at Constantinople, and with the Greeks in the Levant. The iron of Siberia, the corn, hemp, and flax of the Ukraine, and the contiguous provinces, will be sent from the havens of the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, to supply the ports of the Mediterranean; and thus France and Spain will be furnished with naval stores by a cheaper and more expeditious navigation than through the Baltic and the Northern Ocean. As the completion of this great and extensive project can only be the work of time, and depends on a variety of contingencies, we cannot pretend to form any absolute decision on the probability of its failure or success;

cess; but a considerable light may be thrown on this intricate subject by an attention to the following objects of inquiry \*.

I. The traffic on the Turkish Seas before the peace, with an account of their havens and exports. II. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns constructed by the empress. III. The productions of the southern provinces, and the navigation of the Don and Dnieper. IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, with the ports of the Mediterranean.

I. The traffic on the Turkish Seas before the peace of 1774, was chiefly carried on by the Greeks, Armenians, and Turks; and as the Russians possessed no port, either on the Sea of Azof or the Euxine; Tcherkask, capital of the Don Cossacs, was the place where the productions of this empire and Turkey were reciprocally exchanged. The Greek and Armenian merchants sailed to Taganroc, where they performed quarantine, and then proceeded with their merchandize to Tcherkask; having first paid the duty at Temernik, a small village on the Don, now the fortress of St. Dmitri. Tcherkask was

\* In this inquiry I have principally followed Guldenstaedt's Essay *Von der Hafen am Azowischen Schwartzem und Weissen Meere*, in *Journ. St. Pet.* for 1776.



also the emporium of an inland commerce with the merchants of Kuban and Crim Tartary. The imports were chiefly Greek wines, raisins, dried figs, almonds, oil, rice, saffron, painted linens and cottons; the exports, hides and leather, coarse linen, hard-ware, and caviare, &c. \*. The Greek and Armenian merchants, in returning to Constantinople, supplied the ports of the Sea of Azof and the Euxine with Russian and European commodities.

In order to form a general idea of the traffic in the Turkish Seas, we must take a cursory view of their havens, imports and exports.

Among the harbours of the Black Sea resorted to by the Greek and Armenian merchants, the most frequented were those of Crim Tartary, now called Taurida; namely, Yenikalè, one of the fortresses lately ceded to Russia, Balaklava, Kossow, and Caffa, now Theodosia, which merits a particular description. Caffa and the whole peninsula, which were before under the dominion of a khan, who was a vassal to the Turks, were, by an article in the late peace, declared independent, and subject to a khan, elected by the natives, though confirmed both by the empress and grand-signor. It was the capital of the Crimea; and the Tartars distinguished it by the name of Half Con-

\* See Tarif of the Imported and Exported Wares. Bus. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 373.

stantinople\*. The bay is capable of containing several hundred merchant ships; and the inhabitants are the richest, and drive the most extensive trade in the Black Sea. The productions of Crim Tartary, exported from Caffa and the other havens of the peninsula, consist chiefly in corn, wine, wool, fine black and grey lamb-skins, and salt. The imports are fine and coarse linens, printed cottons, nankeen, Russian leather, fine cloths, velvets, taffeties, furs, ropes, paper, salted fish, and caviare, tobacco leaves, copper and tin, hard-ware, gold and silver thread, beads and corals, earthen wares, a coarse sort of porcelain, and glass ware †, &c. &c.

The port of Taman lies opposite to Yenikalè, at the extremity of the straits of Caffa, on a small island in the mouth of the river Kuban: it was subject to the khan of Crim Tartary, and traffics with the Circassians from Mount Caucasus, the Cossacs dwelling near the rivers which fall into the Kuban, and the Tartars inhabiting

\* Nennen solche di Tartary nur *Jarim Stambul*. Kieeman's Reise von Wien nach Constantinopel. See a curious account of Caffa, in that work. The author observed there several ruins of the buildings which the Genoese constructed when Caffa was in their possession, particularly the remains of the ancient citadel, of churches, of angels and saints grossly carved on stone, and several Latin inscriptions, p. 168, &c. He describes Crim Tartary as a very fruitful country.

† Guldenstaedt, p. 12—14.



the desert between the Kuban and the Don. The exports are honey, wax, salt, wool, fox-skins, martens, sheep, &c.; the imports nearly similar to those at Caffa.

The ports of the Eastern and Southern coasts of the Black Sea are situated in the Turkish provinces of Mingrelia, Georgia, and Anatolia: the principal are 1. Poti, where the merchants of Georgia resort; 2. Trebizond; 3. Cherfon, which is distant only 60 miles from Tokat, at which town the caravans from Persia assemble and separate, in order to proceed by different routes to Smyrna and Constantinople. Sinope, the nearest port upon the Black Sea to Angora, is the only place hitherto known that supplies the fine goats-hair, generally called camels-hair, from which the best camlets are manufactured, that equal, if not surpass, those of Brussels. The hair, spun into yarn, is chiefly purchased at Tokat by the merchants of the caravans in their way to Smyrna, from which port Europe is mostly supplied with this commodity. The Greek and Armenian merchants draw from these parts honey, wax, fox-skins, martens, and sheep, raw and manufactured silk, both Persian and Turkish, cotton, callicoes, rice, saffron, dried fruit, &c. They are supplied in return with Russian and other European productions. 4. Tios or Tilios, where the Turks have a dock for repairing

ing

ing ships, and at which place sails, cordage, anchors, and other naval stores, are advantageously disposed of.

The ports on the Western shore of the Black Sea, beside Kinburn, are Varna in Bulgaria, which is distant about 100 miles from Adrianople; Kilia-Nova, at the mouth of the Danube in Wallachia; and Akkermen, on the mouth of the Dniester, in Bessarabia, 60 miles from Bender. These ports furnish wool, dried fruits, Hungarian and Moldavian wines, buffalo skins, &c. The traffic to Varna and Akkermen might be considerably increased by forming a more regular communication with Adrianople and Bender; and that of Kilia-Nova might be rendered highly important, by vending the productions of Austria and Hungary, if the navigation of the Danube was not obstructed by the jealousy of the Turks. The imports consist in European and Russian productions, for the most part similar to those of Caffa.

Constantinople and Gallipoli are the principal havens in the sea of Marmora. The Russian imports are furs and skins, leather, sail-cloth, cordage, anchors, tar and pitch, steel and iron, salt fish, caviare, butter, sea-horse teeth, wax, tea, musk, castor-oil, colours, paper, coarse cloth, linen, and corn: the exports to Russia are raw and manufactured silk and cotton, muslins, rich Turkish stuffs, and carpets, wool and Angora-



goats-hair, Grecian wines, oil, all kinds of European and Asiatic fruit, lemons and oranges, tobacco and snuffs, spices, saffron, opium, and other species of drugs, pearls and precious stones, gold and silver \*, &c.

II. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns since constructed by the empress. The ceded places are, 1. The district on the Sea of Azof; 2. Kertsch and Yenikalè, in Crim Tartary; 3. The fortrefs of Kinburn; 4. The territory between the Dnieper and the Bog.

1. The district bordering on the Sea of Azof comprises, beside a large tract of territory to the east and west of Azof, the fortresses Azof, Taganroc, and Petrofsk. Azof is no longer of the same importance as it was in the reign of Peter the Great; the branch of the Don, on which it stands, being now so choaked with sand as scarcely to admit the smallest vessels. The merchandize therefore is usually deposited at Taganroc or Petrofsk; and the frigates and merchantships, which were formerly constructed at Azof, are now built either at St. Dmitri or Rostof, and pass down the Don into the Sea of Azof, through another branch of that river. As the harbour of Taganroc contains, upon an average, only seven feet of water, the vessels must draw no more than five or six feet; the town has been rendered commodious by the construction of

\* Guldenstaedt, p. 21—25.

several warehouses and other buildings during the late war; and is esteemed for the salubrity of the air. The fortress of Petrofsk, which stands at the mouth of the Broda, and commands the Turkish frontiers, was also erected during the late war. It is advantageously situated, as forming a direct communication with the havens of Crim Tartary, and might easily be rendered more secure than that of Taganroc, from the superior depth of water. By the possession of these fortresses, the navigation of the Sea of Azof is perfectly secured. The frontiers of this ceded territory, to the west of that Sea, are guarded by a chain of small forts, extending from Petrofsk to the Dnieper.

2. The fortresses of Kertsch and Yenikalè, situated on the eastern coasts of Crim Tartary, and near the northern entrance of the straits of Caffa, are of the greatest importance, by commanding the passage which forms the communication between the Sea of Azof and the Euxine.

3. Kinburn is the only port possessed by the Russians on the coasts of the Black Sea; it stands close to the frontiers, at the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite the Turkish fortress Otchakof, which being a place of superior strength, must, while it continues in the hands of the Turks, obstruct, in case of a rupture, the navigation of the Dnieper. Kinburn was intended for the principal



principal repository of the merchandize sent from the provinces bordering on the Dnieper; but as the harbour, on account of its quicksand, affords no security for anchorage, the new town of Kherfon is at present the great emporium of this trade.

4. The possession of the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper opens a secure communication between the Black Sea, and those rich and extensive provinces watered by the Dnieper. This important territory, so essential to the existence of the new commerce, was chiefly inhabited by hordes of roving Tartars; and by the Zaporogian Cossacs, who by their piracies rendered the navigation of the Dnieper extremely hazardous. The origin of these Cossacs is thus traced by the Russian historians. In the beginning of the 15th century, a tribe of the Cossacs of the Ukraine, who inhabited the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper, were known under the denomination of Zaporogian\*, from the situation of their setcha†, or principal settlement near the cataracts of the Dnieper.

This setcha was a fortress surrounded with a wooden wall, and at first merely intended as a

\* Porogi signifies cataracts.

† Setcha means any place surrounded with a wall, or fortification, separated from the neighbouring district. S. R. G. IV. p. 414.

place of assembly, to deliberate on the method of carrying on their customary depredations, or for the purpose of electing a chief. By degrees it was filled with habitations, and afterwards appropriated to a separate community of persons; who devoted themselves solely to arms, and totally excluded all women from the precinct of their military residence. The inhabitants were divided into classes; each of which elected its respective leader, and were all under the jurisdiction of a hetman or supreme chief, chosen by the whole society.

These Zaporogian Cossacs became so distinguished for their bravery and skill in desultory war, that persons flocked from distant regions to this society of warriors. The inhabitants of the *setcha* were not obliged to continue in it for any settled term; being only bound, while they remained, to conform themselves to the regulations and discipline of their associates; those who were disposed to marry, quitted the *setcha*, but were permitted to settle in the neighbouring district, with the privilege of re-admission, provided they were not attended with their wives and families, whom they were allowed occasionally to visit. The Zaporogians increased their numbers by affording an asylum to deserters \*;

\* S. R. G. IV. p. 441.

and



and by forcing and enticing youths and children from the Ukraine and Poland, whom they trained to a military life, and admitted into their community. The place of their residence was occasionally varied; when their numbers increased, or when the hordes wandered at a considerable distance from each other, different parties erected and occupied distinct *setchas*. The first *setcha* of this extraordinary society seems to have been situated on an island of the Dnieper below the cataracts; the last which they inhabited, at the abolition of their government, and which at that period was the only one they possessed, stood near the rivulet *Bufulak*, at the point where it falls into the Dnieper, in the government of *Kiof*\*.

The members of this community being collected from various nations and from the nature of their constitution perpetually changing, their number could never be exactly ascertained: *Manstein* relates, that in the war in which he served against the Turks, they brought 8,000 horse into the field, and on an emergency could have raised 12,000 or 15,000. They frequently performed incredible feats of valour in the campaigns of the Russians against the Turks and

\* *M. Muller* has accurately and circumstantially described the *setcha* of the Zaporogian Cossacs, from which account I have selected this short extract. *S. R. G. IV. p. 411—472.*

Tartars, nor were their services confined solely to land: by their skill in navigating the Dnieper, they occasionally defended the mouth of that river, and attacked with success the armed vessels on the contiguous coasts of the Black Sea. But while they were thus terrible to their enemies, they were scarcely less formidable to their allies. Nominally dependant on the hetman of the Ukraine, they were classed among the subjects of the Russian empire; but the peculiarity of their manners, their separation from all other society, their popular form of government, together with their warlike disposition, rendered them a barbarous and unruly banditti. Accustomed to live by rapine and devastation, they pillaged the Russian merchants who passed through their country, and interrupted the navigation of the Dnieper by continual piracies\*.

Soon after the conclusion of the Turkish war in 1774, the Russian government seized a favourable opportunity to destroy their setcha, and disperse the inhabitants. General Belmain marched from the Turkish frontiers at the head of 12,000 regulars, and encamped about 18 versts from the setcha; taking his departure before midnight, he made a forced march, and surround-

\* The boats of these Zaporogian Cossacs were rowed by 50 or 60 men, had no sail, and generally carried two small cannon. S. R. G. IX. p. 5.



ing it at four in the morning, compelled the inhabitants to surrender. He found 46 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of small arms and ammunition. By this salutary act of power, Russia has secured the merchants from the dread of perpetual depredations, and put an end to the system of piracy.

III. The Russian countries, which are most interested in this commerce, are those contiguous to the Dnieper and Don; or the provinces of Smolenko, Mohilef, Ukraine, New Russia, Bielgorod, Voronetz, Ukraina-Slobodskaia, and Azof: a large tract of territory which furnishes in great abundance every species of grain, hemp, flax, hides, masts, planks, honey, wax, tobacco, &c.

In these ceded districts the empress has already raised several new towns; the principal are Kherfon, Catharienslaf, and Marianopoli.

Kherfon\*, situated on the Dnieper, about ten miles below the mouth of the Ingulec, is chiefly built with hewn stone. It is intended to be the principal mart for all the commodities of export and import; but if an extensive trade

\* Kherfon is celebrated as the place where the empress Catharine principally resided during her memorable journey to the Crimea, when she took possession of the provinces conquered from Turkey, and where she was visited by the emperor Joseph II.

should take place in this quarter, the great depository for the merchandize will be more conveniently fixed on some spot below the bar of the Dnieper, and twelve miles south of Kherfon. It contains a dock \* for the construction of large vessels, from which several men of war and frigates, as well as merchant ships, have been already launched. Catharinenflaf, or the Glory of Catharine, is built near the spot where the small river Kiltzin falls into the Samara, and is appointed to be the capital of the government of Azof; it is colonized by many Greeks and Armenians from Crim Tartary, and by others who served in the late war against the Turks. Another town, called Marianopoli, has been also raised on the borders of the Sea of Azof, between the rivers Myus and Calmius. These three towns, as well as the numerous villages which have suddenly reared their heads in a country formerly inhabited only by lawless banditti, or traversed by roving hordes, are filled with Russians, with Tartars reclaimed from their wandering life, and with numerous colonists, particularly Greeks and Armenians, who migrated from the adjacent provinces of the Turkish empire.

The navigation of the Don and the Dnieper,

\* A new town, Nicolaiof, now the principal dock, was built by Potemkin, on the confluence of the Ingul and the Bog.

which



which form the communication between those provinces and the Turkish Seas, remains to be considered.

The Don \* takes its rise from the small lake of St. John, near Tula, in the government of Moscow, and passing through part of the province of Voronetz, a small portion of the Ukraina-Slobodikaia, and the whole province of Azof, divides itself near Tcherkask into three streams, and falls into the Sea of Azof. The river has so many windings, and abounds with such numerous shoals and sand-banks, as to be scarcely navigable, excepting in the spring, on the melting of the snows. The banks of the Don, and of the rivulets which fall into it, are clothed with large tracts of forest, whose timber is floated down the stream to St. Dmitri and Rostof, where the frigates for the Sea of Azof are chiefly constructed. The navigation of the Don may hereafter be rendered highly valuable, by conveying to the Black Sea the iron of Siberia, the Chinese goods, and the Persian merchandize, which latter commodities, as well as the products of India, formerly found their way into Europe through this same channel †.

Since

\* S. R. G. IX. p. 11, 12.

† The iron of Siberia, and the merchandize of China, are sometimes sent by an inland navigation to the Volga: the Persian commodities

Since the acquisition of Russian Lithuania, the cession of the district between the Don and the Dnieper, and the dispersion of the Zaporogian Cossacs, the Dnieper, from its source to its mouth, now flows through the Russian dominions; and through this whole course, of above 800 miles, the navigation is only once interrupted by a series of cataracts\*, which begin below the mouth of the Samara, and continue for a space of 40 miles. They are not, however, so dangerous as they have been represented; for they may be passed in spring, without much hazard, even by loaded barks. In other parts of the year the goods are landed at Kremenisk, opposite the mouth of the Samara, and transported 40 miles by land to Kitchkase, about six miles from the fortrefs of Alexandrovsk, where they are again embarked, and descend the stream, without interruption, to Kherson†. If the trade should increase, the cataracts might, at a considerable expence, be rendered navigable at all seasons of the year.

IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the

modities are conveyed across the Caspian to the same river; from thence they might be transported by a land-carriage of only 40 miles to the Don.

\* Muller has described these cataracts. S. R. G. IV. p. 411.

† Muller. S. R. G. IX, p. 16; and Guldenstaedt.



ports of the Black Sea and those of the Mediterranean.

To encourage her subjects to engage in this branch of traffic, the empress has lessened the duties of import and export\*, and contributed towards forming a Russian house, or company, trading to the Black Sea. Soon after the peace of 1774, four merchant-ships sailed from Petersburg, and not, as might have been expected, from the ports of the Black Sea: they were laden with iron, flax, hemp, hides, sail-cloth, and coarse linen, at the sole expence of the empress, who granted to the company all the profits arising from the sale of the cargoes. This plan, however, was not attended with the success it seemed to promise; and the failure arose from the jealousy of the Turks. The ships were, under specious pretences, prevented from passing the Dardanelles; the cargoes were sold in the Levant and the Mediterranean, and they returned to the Baltic without effecting the main object of the voyage. Before the Russians could make any further attempts to open this channel of commerce, dissensions took place between the empress and the Porte, concerning the independency of the Crimea, and the free elec-

\* See a list of the duties of export and import, in *Russ. Hist. Mag.* XI. p. 373.

tion of a khan, which threatened an immediate war, and suspended all commercial exertions in regard to the Black Sea, until a new pacification was concluded on the 21st of March 1779.

Since that period, beside several Greek vessels, which sailed from the Sea of Azof and the Euxine, under Russian colours, and were allowed to pass the Dardanelles, a Russian ship, manned with seamen in the service of government, and laden with salted beef, took its departure, in 1780, from Kherfon, for the port of Toulon; and soon afterwards five others, freighted with iron, made successful voyages to the Archipelago; also four small vessels, and a fifth of 400 tons just launched, laden with hemp and tobacco, were expected to sail from Kherfon for France, in November 1781.

Such, in 1781, was the infant state of that commerce, which some authors have described as capable of producing an immediate revolution in the trade of Europe\*: and in this, or in  
a still

\* Many persons are of opinion, that the obstacles to the rising commerce of the Black Sea are by no means injurious to the interests of Russia. For her commodities and productions being articles of necessity, not of luxury, no facility given to their exportation could add to their general consumption; and the increase of exportation from the Black Sea would diminish that from St. Petersburg, and the other ports of the Baltic, nearly in the same proportion. By the facility and cheapness of land-carriage, and the



a still more fluctuating state, it will probably continue, as long as the Turks retain the dominion of their own seas. For that jealous people will either openly oppose, or clandestinely obstruct, the progress of the Russians, and will never readily give a free passage through the Dardanelles to a powerful rival, though they consented to it in the humiliating peace of 1774. Perhaps these claims, urged on one side, and evaded on the other, will engender perpetual dissensions, and will not be finally terminated but by a series of obstinate and bloody wars. Meanwhile the trade cannot for a considerable period be extensive, which depends on such casual circumstances as the coalition and rupture of rival and neighbouring powers.

The course of subsequent events can alone discover, whether the pacification, signed on the 9th of January 1784, will be more permanent than former treaties, or whether the same causes will not continue to produce the same effects.

improvements of inland navigation, the productions of the remotest provinces are readily sent to the ports of the Baltic, without raising the price too high. And as the goods which Russia produces are either peculiar to this empire, or such as other nations must purchase, they cannot pass through too many hands before they are exported. To diminish, therefore, by facilitating their exportation, the price of such goods which she already sells cheaper than other nations, would be to incur a manifest loss, and to gratify the foreign trader at her own expence.

In

In a word, the Russian commerce in those parts can scarcely be established on a firm basis, until the empress acquires a fleet in the Black Sea superior to that of her rival. Perhaps the completion of this great object may be effected by the acquisition of Crim Tartary \* and the Kuban,

\* The Crimea, which had long been an object of Russian ambition, was secured by the intrigues and arms of Catharine.

The requisition of Azof, Taganroc, the district between the Don and the Dnieper; and the forts of Kimburn, Kersh, and Yenikalè, was the prelude to the conquest of that peninsula. Catharine availed herself of the article in the peace of Kaimagdi, which stipulated that the khan should be confirmed by Russia as well as the Porte. By intrigues and money, Potemkin obtained the election of Sehim Gerai, a prince of the blood royal, formerly ambassador from the khan to St. Petersburg, who was gained over to the interests of Russia.

In consequence of his subservience to Russia, he was opposed by the Porte and a large body of his subjects in the Turkish interest, and commotions ensued. The empress having appointed the khan captain of the guards, sent an army to protect him, as her officer, against the rebels. Notwithstanding the public remonstrances and secret opposition of the Porte, the khan was no sooner secured in his dignity, than he was induced to abdicate; but repenting of this act, he endeavoured to escape, and put himself at the head of his subjects, who were dissatisfied with the Russians, and offered to support him as their sovereign. His intentions being discovered, he was sent to Tamer, from thence to Kiof, and finally to Voronetz, where he received a temporary pension from the empress. Irritated by repeated degradations, he escaped into Moldavia, where he was seized by emissaries from the Porte, transferred to the Isle of Rhodes, and strangled.

Catharine having gained the concurrence of Joseph the Second, and made the most formidable preparations both by land and sea,



ban, rendered highly valuable by an additional extent of sea-coast, and the important harbour of Actiar or Sebastopol.

the Porte was awed, and resigned the sovereignty of the Crimea to Russia. The Peninsula was modelled into a new government under the name of Taurida, and the principal towns received their antient Greek appellations: Caffa was called Theodosia; Koslof, Apotoria; and Actiar, Sebastopol.

But this humiliating conduct on the side of the Porte, did not prevent further demands from the court of St. Petersburg, which terminated in a rupture; and the Turks were happy to purchase a peace in 1791, by ceding the important fortrefs and district of Otchakof, by which the Dniester is now the boundary of the Russian empire.

## C H A P. 6.

Mines of Russia.—Gold and silver.—Copper and iron.—Average profits which government draws from the mines, founderies, and duties.

**T**HE mines of the Russian empire may be divided into those which belong to the crown; and those which are the property of individuals. The former comprize all the gold and silver, and a few copper and iron works:

1. The most ancient gold mine in the Russian empire is that of Voetsk, near Olonetz, between the lake Onega and the White Sea. Its chief produce is a violet pyritical copper ore, mixed with quartz, and containing rich pieces of gold, but not in sufficient quantity to defray the charges. From 1744 to 1776, the mine yielded only 57 pounds of gold, and about 9000 pood\* of copper, and as the expences amounted to £.16,000 more than the profits, it was neglected until 1772, when it was again worked. Since that time it has furnished annually 250

\* A pood = 40 Russian or 36 English pounds. The pound used in this chapter is the Russian, which is to the English as 9 to 10.



poods of copper, and two or three pounds of gold-dust, which is washed from the mine; besides accidental pieces that have been sent to Peterburgh as specimens, which may amount to five or six pounds more.

2. The next gold mines discovered in the empire were those near Catharinenburgh: the ore is very martial, commonly of a cubic form in a quartz matrix; and the gold is extracted by washing. The annual produce of pure gold never exceeded 200 pounds, and was commonly much less: in 1772 it was only 101 pounds.

3. The most important silver mines are those of Kolyvan, between the rivers Oby and Irtysh, near the mountains which separate Siberia from the Chinese empire, or rather from the territory of the Calmucs dependent on the Chinese. These mines, discovered in 1728, by Akinfi Nikitich Demidof, were for some years worked for his own private emolument, as copper mines. It is suspected, that he privately extracted the nobler metals, but prudently concealed the secret until 1744, when he made the discovery to the empress Elizabeth, who appropriated them to the crown\*. These mines, situated near Voskresensk, in the Smeyeskaia Gora, or Mountain of Serpents, are known by the general appella-

\* Pallas Reise, P. II. p. 582.

tion of Kolyvan, from a village on the rivulet Bielaia, in the district of Kufnetz, where the ore was formerly smelted. But as the adjacent country is scantily provided with wood, new founderies have been constructed at Barnaul, Novopaulofsk, and Sufunsk, to the north east of Kolyvan, in a district abounding with trees\*.

These mines, which may justly be styled the Potosi of the Russians, produced annually, between 1749 and 1762, from 8,000 to 16,000 pounds of silver; between 1763 and 1769, from 20,000 to 32,000; and, since that period to 1778, from 40,000 to 48,000. The silver contains upwards of three per cent. of gold; the separation of which is made in the imperial laboratory at Petersburg. The whole produce extracted from the mines amounted, in 1771, to 400,000 pounds of silver, with 12,720 of gold; and since 1771 we may calculate the annual produce at above 44,000 of silver, and 1200 of gold.

The mines and founderies of Kolyvan employ nearly 40,000 colonists; besides the peasants in the districts of Tomsk and Kufnetz, who, in lieu of paying the poll-tax in money, cut wood, make charcoal, and transport the ore to the founderies. The expences, which were formerly

\* Pallas Reise, P. II. p. 579.



supplied from the treasury, and of course considerably diminished the profit, have, since 1765, been annihilated, and the whole produce of the mines in gold and silver is clear profit. In the same year a mint was established at the foundery of Sufunsk, for the coinage of the copper supplied from the mines of Kolyvan, the greater part of which had been hitherto of no use. Pieces of one, two, five, and ten copecs\*, are struck and dispersed over Siberia. Of this currency, the amount of 500,000 roubles are annually coined, which is sufficient for reimbursing the poll-tax, paying the miners, transporting the ore, purchasing the lead which must be brought from Nerzhinsk, and defraying the expence of sending the gold and silver as far as Tobolsk. The silver smelted in the founderies, is conveyed on large sledges twice a year: the first convoy sets off in the beginning of the winter, and reaches Peterburgh a little after Christmas; the second in the middle of winter, and arrives there towards spring.

4. The silver mines of Nerzhinsk, which were opened in 1704, are situated in Dauria, the south easternmost part of Siberia, between the rivers Shilka and Argoon, and are very numerous. Their produce to the year 1772 is †:

\* A small coin nearly equal to a halfpenny.

† Buf. Erd.—Bef. vol. I. p. 1126.

|                   | Pounds of silver. |                             |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| From 1704 to 1721 | -                 | 4,732                       |
| 1721 to 1731      | -                 | 1,498                       |
| 1731 to 1741      | -                 | 1,333                       |
| 1741 to 1751      | -                 | 15,657                      |
| 1751 to 1761      | -                 | 43,631                      |
| 1761 to 1771      | -                 | 126,247                     |
| 1771              | -                 | 16,733                      |
| 1772              | -                 | 16,200, which contained 200 |
|                   |                   | pounds of gold.             |
|                   |                   | <hr/> 226,031 <hr/>         |

In 1767 they yielded 17,400 pounds; but the annual average produce may be estimated at 16,000. The silver contains, in 40,000 pounds, nearly 500 of gold. The ores being generally rich in lead, and extremely poor in silver, the latter is easily extracted. Many million pounds of lead remain useless on the spot, as only 14 to 18,000 are annually required for the separation of the silver from the copper at the founderies of Kolyvan; the carriage into the inner parts of the empire being too expensive, and the export to China prohibited. The number of men employed in these mines and founderies are about 1900 free colonists, between 1000 and 1800 convicts, and 11,000 Russian peasants of the district of Nerzhinsk: 6000 of the latter are employed in cutting and carrying wood, making and transporting charcoal; while the rest, who live at some distance from the mines, cultivate a certain portion



portion of ground, and bring in winter the produce to the magazines of the founderies. The annual expences may generally be rated at £. 14,800.

5. Some mines yielding silver have been lately discovered in the district of Krasnoyarsk near the Lena, between the rivers Yins and Yenisei.

The gold of Catharinenburgh is obtained at the rate of 40 guineas per pound; and as when coined it produces £. 68. 5s. the profit is not very considerable. The silver and gold from Kolyvan is procured without any expence, as I have before mentioned. A pound of silver from Nerzhinsk is said to cost between 4 and 5 roubles; and as the same quantity of this metal, when coined, is equal to 22 roubles 75 copecs and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , the gold extracted from this silver is obtained for £. 11. 8s. per pound.

6. The crown possesses at present but very few copper and iron works.

The iron works in the north part of the district of Olonetz produce annually between 8 and 10,000 poods of cast iron for guns, bombs, and balls, and 15,000 of indifferent iron in bars and plates. Those of the Uralian mountains employ above 1700 workmen, and 26,800 peasants; and yielded, in 1772, 423,987 poods of iron in bars and plates, which were chiefly used for the army and navy, that of Kamensk gave in the same

year 93,000 poods of iron, which were forged into guns, and 8172 into bars.

Four copper founderies on the west side of the Uralian mountains, in the government of Orenburgh, and three in Permia, produced, in 1772, only 13,868 poods. At Catharinenburgh the crown has established a mint for coining the copper, procured from the imperial and private founderies, into that species of money which is current throughout Russia, and is transported by water to Moscow, Petersburg, and other parts.

2. The greater part of the private mines and founderies, that supply such an immense quantity of iron and copper, are mostly situated in the Uralian mountains, and the hills stretching from them; a few in the government of Moscow excepted, the produce of which is but small.

The Uralian mountains contain 105 founderies, 56 for iron, 37 for copper, and the remainder for both metals. The peasants, part of whom belong to the proprietors, and part to the crown, employed in the mines and founderies, amount to 95,000. In 1772 \* these works yielded 130,169 poods of copper, and 4,558,718 of cast iron. The duty paid to the crown from the private proprietors is 4 copecs, or nearly 2*d.* for every pood of cast

\* We must take this year as the average standard, as being previous to the rebellion of Pugatchef, who destroyed several of the founderies; but most of them have been since re-established.



iron, beside 5 copecs upon every pood for exportation. With respect to the copper, the proprietors are obliged to sell three quarters of the whole produce of the mines to the crown at Catharinenburgh, at the low rate of £. 1. 2s. per pood\*. The remainder they either sell to the crown at the same place, at £. 1. 14s. per pood; at Moscow, for £. 2. 2s.; or at Peterburgh, for £. 2. 4s.

At Catharinenburgh copper money to the value of £. 400,000 is annually coined. The crown receives a pood of this metal, upon an average, at £. 1. 2s. 6d.; and issues it when struck at £. 3. 4s.

From these data government appears to gain annually from the mines, and duties on iron:

|  |            |    |
|--|------------|----|
| Gain upon the copper coinage at Catharinenburgh  | £. 257,625 | 0  |
| 44,000 pounds of silver, and 1,200 of gold, the annual produce from the mines of Kolyvan, when coined, yield | -          | -  |
| 16,320 pounds of silver, and 160 of gold, from the mines of Nerzhinsk  | -          | -  |
| Government iron works  | -          | -  |
| Duty on 4,558,718 poods of cast iron   | -          | -  |
|  | 282,164    | 4  |
|  | 71,194     | 8  |
|  | 32,529     | 16 |
|  | 36,469     | 5  |
|  | <hr/>      |    |
|  | £. 679,982 | 13 |
|  | <hr/>      |    |

The

\* By an edict of the empress, dated July 1, 1780, the proprietors, instead of selling three quarters of the copper to the crown at £. 1. 2s. per

The iron and copper are transported by means of the Kofva, Tchuffovaja, Bielaya, and Kama, into the Volga: some of the vessels descend that river, to supply with iron the provinces situated along its banks; but far the greater number are towed up the stream to Nishnèi-Novogorod, and Tver, and through the canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok to Petersburg. The vessels, which set out on the breaking of the frost in spring, commonly perform this navigation before the end of autumn; but sometimes are obliged to winter on their passage.

#### DECEMBER 1784.

THE gold mine of Olonetz or Vogetfskoi, from which the richest specimens for cabinets have been obtained, has been relinquished, because it did not defray the expence of working, though the ore was rich in copper.

The gold mines of Catharinenburgh have remained nearly in the same condition.

The mines of Kolyvan have been embarrassed by the new law, by which the peasants working for their capitation at the mines, have had their pay doubled throughout the empire, and liberty given to work only in winter. The effect of this

25. per pood, are now only obliged to dispose of half at that price: this new regulation must have somewhat reduced the profits of the copper coinage. See Journ. St. Pet. for 1780, p. 53.

regulation



regulation at Kolyvan, has deprived the founderies of near half the requisite quantity of charcoal; and as the necessary workmen for the foundery have been partly employed in making charcoal, the produce in silver has since that period never reached 800 poods; and in 1784 did not yield 500. However, with an additional number of hands, these mines might produce above 1000 poods; for in that quarter several mines have been discovered; amongst others that of Tcherepa Nofskoy, very rich in gold, and the richest in silver ever found in Siberia: also some lead mines have been opened in the neighbourhood, which are very promising.

The copper coin of Kolyvan underwent considerable alteration in 1782; the process of extracting the precious metal from the copper has been greatly improved throughout the empire, and the sum annually coined exceeds 300,000 roubles.

The silver mines of Nerzhinsk are in a flourishing and even increasing condition, and their annual produce since 1781 has reached between 4 and 600 poods.

## C H A P. 7.

Canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok, which unites the Caspian and the Baltic.  
 —Canal of Ladoga.—Project of uniting the Don and the Volga.

**T**HE inland navigation is carried through a greater extent in Russia than in any other kingdom on the globe; for it is possible to convey goods by water 4472 miles from the frontiers of China to Peterburgh, with an interruption only of about 60 miles\*; and from Astracan through a tract of 1434 miles.

The water communication between Astracan and Peterburgh, or between the Caspian and the Baltic, is formed by means of the celebrated canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok. This great work, begun and completed under Peter the Great,

\* Having in the Russian Discoveries, given a short sketch of the inland navigation from Tobolsk to the frontiers of China, I shall not repeat it here; but shall state, in a few words, that from Tobolsk to the Volga. At Tobolsk the barks ascend the Tobol, the Tura, and the Tigil, which rises in the mountains separating Siberia from Europe: from the Tigil the merchandize is transported across a neck of land of about 52 miles to the Tchuffovaia: there the merchants re-embark the goods, and descend the Tchuffovaia into the Kama, to its junction with the Volga a little above Casan.

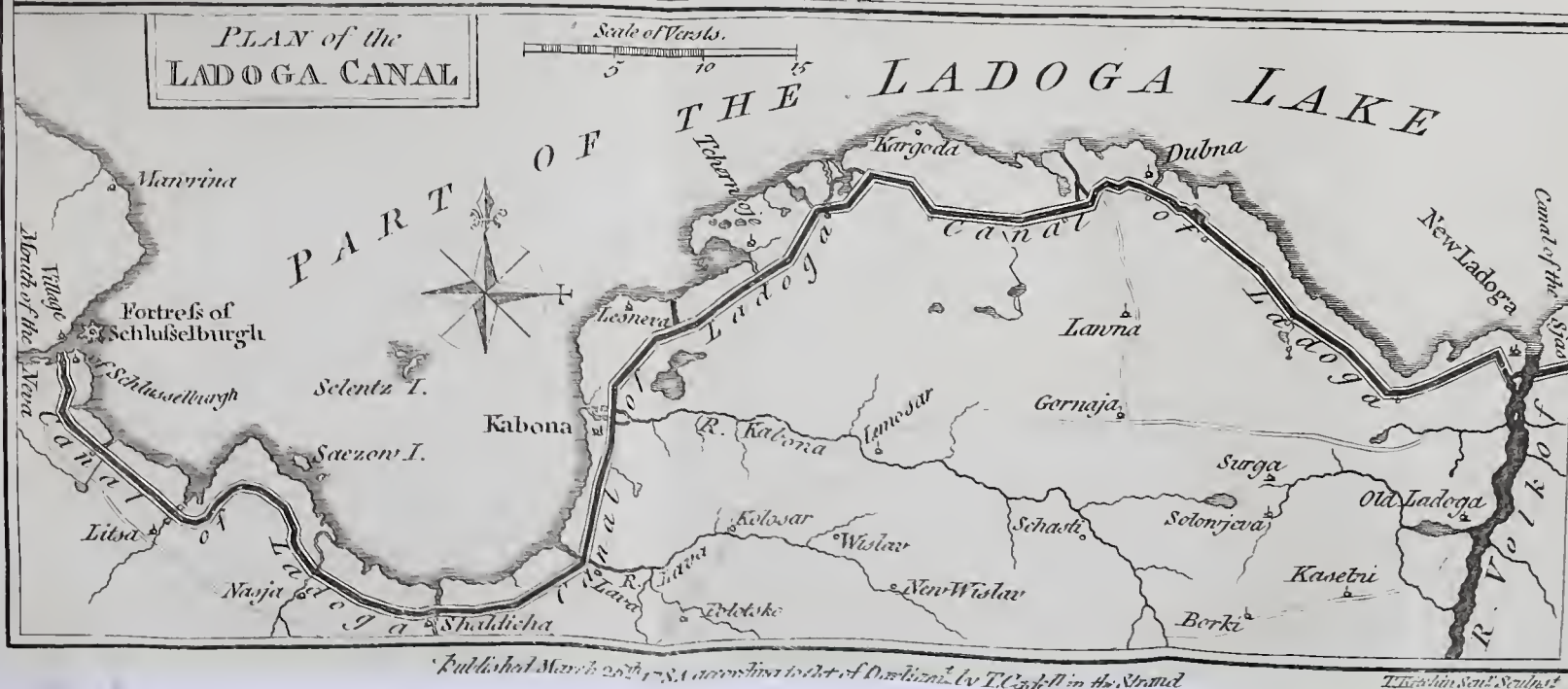


has been considerably improved by the late empress, and vessels now reach Petersburg in less than half the time which they formerly employed.

The Shlina forms the lake Maftino, which gives rise to the Mafta; the latter falls, after a course of about 234 miles, into the lake Ilmen, from which issues the river Volkof, and runs 130 miles to the lake Ladoga, which supplies the Neva: so that, in effect, the Shlina, the Mafta, the Volkof, and the Neva, may be considered as the same river flowing into and through different lakes, and only changing its name at various intervals. By uniting, therefore, the Shlina which communicates with the Baltic, with the Tvertza which flows by the Volga into the Caspian, the junction of those two seas is formed. This junction is made by the canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok; where the Shlina is united to the Tvertza by several canals and rivulets, for the relative situation of which I shall refer to the figures in the annexed plan.

Near Vishnèi-Voloshok, the Shlina is joined by the Zna, near which are the sources of the Tvertza. To join the Tvertza and the Zna, the following works were made under Peter the Great.

1. Near Klutshina a cut was dug to a small lake, a second to the lake of Gorodolub, and a third







third to the Zna. 2. At the same place, just below the first cut, a lock of four gates was constructed across the Shlina, to stop the course of that rivulet; and, by means of the said cuts and lakes, to convey water to the Zna above Vishnèi-Voloshok. 3. But to keep this supply of water in reserve, and to let as much in to the town as is judged necessary, a great lock of seven gates was built across the Zna below the third cut. 4. The Zna and the Tvertza were united by a canal, beginning from the sources of the Tvertza; and a lock constructed at the end of the canal. 5. The natural course of the Zna was shut up by two locks in the town (at *a* and *b*), one of which may also serve for a passage. 6. A canal was dug from the Zna to the Shlina, at the end of which is the lock of the Zna.

The several canals are supplied with water, and the vessels navigated from the Tvertza into the canal of the Zna, by the following operation.

The locks of Klutshina, those of *a* and *b* in the town, and that of the Zna being shut, the lock of the Tvertza is opened; the waters of the Zna and Shlina are conveyed through the canal of the Tvertza into that river; and the barks pass into the Zna at Vishnèi-Voloshok. When a sufficient number are admitted, the lock of the Tvertza is shut; and the waters being raised to a certain level (which seldom takes more than



two or three days), by means of the lock of seven gates, that of the Zna is opened ; and the barks are gradually let down a small fall, to the number of about twenty in an hour. At night the lock is shut. If on the following day there is sufficient depth, the barks continue descending through the lock of the Zna ; or, if not, they must remain until a sufficient body of water is collected. Having by these means all passed into the Shlina, they proceed, without interruption, through the lake Mastino to the beginning of the Mastá ; where a lock has been lately constructed, which holds the waters of this lake in reserve. By this reservoir the navigation is so greatly facilitated ; that the lock of the Zna being shut, and that of the Tvertza open, the Tvertza, which was formerly almost dry during several weeks, is now generally navigable, even in the midst of summer, within two days after the passage of the barks : in spring, the supply of water, from the melting of the snows, is so considerable, that the locks both of the Tvertza and of the Zna are open at the same time.

Several rivulets falling into the Mastá are confined by locks, which being opened successively as the barks are passing, fill the river, and render the shallows navigable ; and, being again closed, form perpetual reservoirs of water : this operation

tion is performed five or six times in the summer. By some other works lately constructed, a considerable addition of water has been obtained; and it is expected, that the Tvertza will become always navigable, and the lock of the Mafta will only be shut for a short time.

The boats employed on this occasion are towed by ten horses up the Tvertza to Vishnèi-Voloshok, between ten and twelve miles a day; from which place they are rowed as far as Novogorod. Each bark is provided with at least ten men; those which are laden with hemp require twenty-two. At Noshino and Bassatino they change pilots, and take in ten additional men to pass the upper and small cataracts. At Apezenfkoi Radok, at the head of the great cataracts, they procure another pilot and two assistants; and, on account of the rapidity of the current, increase their complement generally to sixty men. The fall of the river is  $122\frac{1}{2}$  yards perpendicular in twenty miles; and the stream so violent, that the boats not unfrequently shoot along this space within the hour; but they are sometimes dashed against the rocks or overfet by accident; in the year 1778 above thirty were lost. From the foot of the great cataracts, the pilot of Vishnèi-Voloshok steers the bark 120 miles further through several shoals, which have lately been considerably reduced, and almost levelled.



In spring the vessels can be allowed to draw  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet water; in summer only 26 inches. In autumn the navigation from Vishnèi-Voloshok to Peterburgh is performed in little more than a month in summer in three weeks; and in spring only a fortnight is required. In the year 1777, 3485 barks passed through the canal.

The vessels being steered down the Mašta, across the lake Ilmen to Novogorod, descend the Volkof, and enter the Ladoga canal, a plan of which is annexed to that of Vishnèi-Voloshok. This canal was begun in 1718, by order of Peter, and finished during the reign of the empress Anne: it was carried at first only as far as the Karbona, a rivulet which enters the lake to the east of Schluffelburgh; but now reaches, without interruption, from the Volkof to the Neva. The length is 67 miles and an half, and the breadth 70 feet; the mean depth of water in summer is seven, and in spring ten feet; it is supplied by the Volkof and eight rivulets. The barks enter through the sluices of the Volkof, and go out through those of Schluffelburgh. In 1778, 4927 vessels passed through the canal of Ladoga.

A scheme has been lately projected, to form a water communication between the Ladoga and Bielo Ozero to the Duna; in order to unite the White Sea and the Baltic, and improve the inland commerce between Archangel and Peterburgh,

burgh. The only part of this plan yet finished, is a short cut of about seven miles from the Volkof to the Sjas.

The grand project of uniting the Caspian and the Baltic with the Black Sea, by the junction of the Don and Volga, was planned by Peter the Great. These two rivers approach each other within the distance of 40 miles in the province of Astracan; and two rivulets, the Ilofla, which falls into the Don, and the Camashinska, into the Volga, are only separated by an interval of five miles. Could these two rivulets be made navigable, and united by a canal, the Black Sea would be joined with the Caspian and the Baltic. With this view Peter sent Perry\*, an English engineer, to the spot: the canal was begun under his inspection, and a cut made the length of a mile and an half; but the scheme was dropped, from an idea that it was not practicable. Being revived, however, by the late empress, professor Lovitz was entrusted with the execution. Having taken a level of the ground between the Ilofla and the Camashinska, he traced out the canal, and was preparing to begin the work; when, in 1774, he was wantonly murdered by the impostor Pugatchef. The direct distance between the two rivu-

\* See Perry's State of Russia.



lets is only five miles; but the great difficulty would consist in deepening their beds, and procuring a supply of water sufficient to render them navigable. The Don, however, being only 40 miles from the Volga, and land-carriage being extremely cheap and easy, the advantages resulting from the projected canal would be scarcely equivalent to the expence of forming it.

## No. 1.

A Letter from Mr. Keith, British Minister at St. Peterburgh, to the Right Honourable George Grenville, Secretary of State, on the Revolution of 1762.

*St. Petersburgh, July 12, 1762.*

S I R,

**L**AST Friday morning, about 9 o'clock (as I was preparing to go to Peterhoff, to meet the emperor) one of my servants came running into my room with a frightened countenance, and told me there was a great uproar at the other end of the town, that the guards, having mutinied, were assembled, and talked of nothing less than dethroning the emperor; he could tell me no circumstances, and could give me no answer to the only question I asked, namely, if the empress was in town. But about a quarter of an hour after, one of the gentlemen of our factory came in and informed me that the empress was in town, and that she had been, by the guards, and the other troops of the garrison, declared their empress and sovereign; and that she was then actually at the Casanski church, to hear the *Te Deum* sung upon the occasion. He added the circumstances of prince George of Holstein Gottorp's being made a prisoner, as he was endeavouring to make his escape out of the town. This account was confirmed from all quarters, and we understood the several supreme colleges in the empire, and all the great people were then



then taking the oaths of fidelity to the new empress, as the guards and other regiments had already done.

This surprising revolution was brought about and completed in a little more than two hours, without one drop of blood being spilt, or any act of insolence committed; and all the quarters of this city, at any distance from the palace, especially the street where I and most part of his majesty's subjects reside, were as quiet as if nothing had happened; the only novelty to be seen were some piquets placed at the bridges, and some of the horse guards patrolling through the streets, in order to preserve the public tranquillity.

As soon as the guards assembled in the morning, several detachments were sent to the Peterhoff Road, to hinder any intelligence from being sent to the emperor; and this piece of duty was performed with so much diligence and exactness, that no one person got through, except the master of the horse, Monsieur Nariskin.

About ten o'clock in the evening, the empress marched out of town on horseback, at the head of twelve or fourteen thousand men, and a great train of artillery, and took the road towards Peterhoff, in order to attack the emperor at that place, or Oraniebaum, or wherever they should meet him; and next day in the afternoon we received the account of his imperial majesty's having surrendered his person, and resigned his crown, without one stroke being struck. The few circumstances of this great event that I have been able to pick up, and which appear to be authentic, though I will not warrant them all, are as follow, viz. That this affair had been long contriving, but was hastened in the execution by one of the conspirators having been arrested two days before, upon some rash words that had fallen from him; upon which some of the others concerned, for fear of the whole conspiracy being discovered, had come to the resolution of going immediately to work, and in consequence,

consequence, had sent Monf. Orlow, one of the Russian officers in the guards, to apprise the empress of this circumstance, and to represent the necessity of her returning to town without loss of time. That this gentleman had got to Peterhoff between three and four in the morning, and having got admittance into her majesty's bedchamber, had informed her of her danger, upon which she had, as soon as she was dressed, slipped out of the palace by a back door, and under the conduct of Monf. Orlow, without one servant of either sex, had, after some accidents, such as their horses being tired and knocked up, got to town about six o'clock, and went directly to the casernes of the Imacklowsky guards, which she found under arms, ready to receive her, with their colonel, the Hetman Rosamowsky at their head. That her majesty from thence proceeded to the Simonowsky regiment, and then to that of Preobrazinsky, and was by the whole conducted to the palace, where every thing passed in the manner above mentioned. I must observe, that the regiment of horse-guards, of which prince George was colonel, was amongst the first that appeared in the revolt, and shewed the greatest animosity against their colonel and the late government; and that all the troops took the oaths without hesitation, except some of the officers of the emperor's own regiment of curassiers, who refused it at first; and some of them, I believe, are still in arrest for persisting in their refusal.

As for the emperor, he had not the smallest information, nor the least suspicion of this affair, till between eleven and twelve o'clock, when being on the way from Oraniebaum to Peterhoff, he was met by a servant sent on by the master of the horse, who informed him how matters stood in town. His imperial majesty proceeded to Peterhoff, and there learned the circumstances of the empress's leaving that place, which had been concealed till then from the ladies and other courtiers, by her



her bed-chamber woman's pretending that the empress was indisposed and a-bed.

From that moment the unhappy emperor seems to have lost himself, and there was nothing but despair and confusion amongst the small number of his attendants, and no resolution was taken till very late in the evening. That his imperial majesty, with all his train-gentlemen and ladies, went on board a galley that rode before Peterhoff, and rowed over to Cronstadt, in the hopes of being received there; but the commissioners from the admiralty, sent down from Peterburgh, had got the start of them, and when the emperor approached the haven, he was not only refused admittance, though he declared who he was, but was threatened to be fired upon.

This augmented the confusion and despair, and the galley, with the other boats, returned to this side, but taking different ways, some to Peterhoff, and others to Oraniebaum; amongst the last was the emperor, with a few attendants, and on the morning of Saturday, he sent prince Galetzín, the vice-chancellor, and major-general Ismaelów, to the empress, with some proposals. After some time, Ismaelów returned with the Deed of Resignation of the Crown, which the emperor signed immediately, and then going into a coach with that gentleman, taking the road to Peterhoff, and has not been seen since; and I have not been able to learn where he was conducted to. It is said, that in the deed above mentioned, there was a clause, promising the emperor liberty to retire into Holstein. Thus ended this extraordinary and important affair; and her imperial majesty, after having passed the night at a country house of prince Kurakin's, returned to town yesterday morning on horseback, and after having heard mass at the new admiralty church, which was consecrated that day, went directly to the summer palace, where she,  
with

with her son, the great-duke, have taken up their residence, and where all sorts of people for some hours were admitted to kiss her hand. As for us foreign ministers, we each of us received copies of the inclosed paper on Saturday evening; and we now wait for a notification of the time when we are to be admitted to the presence of her imperial majesty.

I have the honour likewise to transmit to you the manifesto published by authority, with the translation, in which you will see that great stress is laid upon the shameful peace concluded with their enemy; notwithstanding which, as baron Goltz, who attended the emperor to the last, was returning to town, he was met on the road by Monsr. Allsufiew, who, by order of the empress, assured him that he had nothing to fear, and that he might either return to Oraniebaum for a day or two, or proceed to Petersburg, a proper escort being appointed to attend him to either place; but he chusing the town, is now at his house here, in perfect freedom; but what is most remarkable, Allsufiew assured him, that the empress was perfectly well disposed towards cultivating his Prussian majesty's friendship.

The Hetman was, I hear, with general Villebois and Monsr. Panin, the great-duke's governor, the principal persons in bringing about this revolution, and under them the brothers Orlow were the most trusted and the most active; but the most singular circumstance of the whole is, that the place of rendezvous was, the house of the princess Dashkow, a young lady not above twenty years old, daughter to count Roman Lanwonits Woranzow, sister to the late favourite Elizabeth, and niece to the chancellor; it is certain that she bore a principal share in contriving and carrying on the conspiracy, from the beginning to the conclusion of it.

Of all men the Hetman seemed to possess the greatest share in the unfortunate emperor's affection, and two  
days



days before his fall he dined at marshal Rosamowsky's country house, and was upon that occasion received and served with the greatest marks of duty, zeal, and attachment, on the part of both brothers, and when he returned to Oraniebaum, the Hetman went straight to Peterhoff to concert matters with the empress. It is a dispute what part the chamberlain Schuwalow had in this affair.

On Friday evening, before the empress left the town, she dispatched an officer to bring back count Bestuchef to Peterburgh, and it is thought he will have a considerable share in the administration; in the mean time Monf. Panin is the person that takes most upon him, though both the chancellor count Woronzow, and the vice chancellor prince Galitzkin, continue in their places. The former came to town on Friday evening, and going directly to court was tolerably well received, and promised the empress's protection; however, at his own desire, he had two officers of the guards put about him for the first two days, but now they are taken off, and he goes on in the functions of his office; his lady was not at court till Sunday, having continued with the emperor to the end, and having been even at Cronstadt with him, and when she kissed the empress's hand, she took off her ribbon of St. Catharine, and offering it to her imperial majesty, said, she never asked for it, and now laid it at her feet; but the empress most obligingly took it, and with her own hand put it again over the countess Woronzow's shoulder.

With regard to the motives of this revolution, it is plain that the taking away of the church lands was the principal, joined to the neglect of the clergy; the next was, the severe discipline which the emperor endeavoured to introduce amongst the troops, especially the guards, who had been accustomed to great idleness and licence, and the discontent among them was heightened,  
by

by the resolution his imperial majesty had taken, of carrying a great part of that corps into Germany with him in his expedition against Denmark; which was a measure disagreeable to the whole nation, who stomach-ed greatly their being drawn into new expences and new dangers, for recovering the duchy of Schleswick, which they considered as a trifling object in itself, and intirely indifferent to Russia; and that after the emperor had just sacrificed the conquests made by the Russian arms, and which might have been of great importance to this empire, to his friendship for the king of Prussia, which however their desires for peace, would have made them not only put up with, but approve.

Several other little circumstances greatly exaggerated, and artfully represented and improved, contributed to the fall of this unhappy prince, who had many excellent qualities, and who never did a violent or cruel action in the course of his short reign; but who, from an abhorrence of business, owing to a bad education, and the unhappy choice of favourites, who encouraged him in it, let every thing run into confusion, and by a mistaken notion he had conceived of having secured the affections of the nation, by the great favours he had so nobly bestowed upon them after his first mounting the throne, fell into an indolence and security that proved fatal to him. To conclude, not only I, but several persons of sense and discernment, thought they could perceive, latterly, in this prince, a considerable change from what he was for some months after his accession, and the perpetual hurry in which he lived, and the flattery he met with from the vile people about him, had in some measure affected his understanding. I must own, that I had no apprehension that this revolution could happen so soon; but I was always of opinion, that, if he left his dominions, he ran a great risk of never returning to them;



them; and for that reason I made use of every means I could think of to divert him from that expedition, sometimes by representing the danger to others, who had the honour to approach his person, and a title to offer him their advice; whether they did their duty in this point, particularly prince George, I cannot say, but if they did, the event has shewn that it was all to no purpose.

July 2-13. Last night, about 10 o'clock, I received a message from the master of the ceremonies, desiring me to be at court this morning at eleven; and having gone thither accordingly found great numbers of people, and amongst the rest, my brethren the foreign ministers, and we were soon after carried into the empress's apartments, and presented to her by the chancellor: in kissing her imperial majesty's hand, I took the opportunity of wishing her a happy reign, and of making her a proper compliment in the king's name, which was kindly received, and returned in very handsome terms, and, upon the whole, my reception was very good.

I could observe the countenances of some of my brethren considerably changed for the better, particularly those of the Danish envoy, and of the imperial ambassador; *a-propos* to the last orders have already been sent to the count Czernichef, forthwith to leave the Prussian army, and return into Russia; at the same time, orders were likewise dispatched to general Panin, to go and take the command of general Romanzow's army, and to bring it back likewise into Russia; all this gives some people the notion, that this court may have entertained some thoughts of keeping the whole, or some part of that country, notwithstanding the late peace.

There was likewise a good deal of difference to be observed in the faces of the courtiers, some for the better, some for the worse; those who seemed to make the  
most

most important figure, were the Hetman, Mons. Panin, and that gentleman Mons. Orlov, who is mentioned in the former part of this letter; he is made knight of St. Alexander, and chamberlain. Amongst the ladies, the princess of Dashkoff was distinguished by the order of St. Catharine, the empress having given her the ribbon she wore herself before she put on the Blue. Her father and sister are under confinement in count Romoinzow's house. It is said that the emperor, in making his terms, desired only three things, his own life, and grace for his favourite lady, and for his adjutant brigadier Godowitz, who is likewise under arrest. There have been several promotions made, particularly of new senators, in which number the vice chancellor is; but I refer myself to my next, in which I shall transmit the most exact list I shall be able to procure.

Prince Menzicoff, after being made general in chief, and knight of St. Andrew, was dispatched to Moscow on Friday evening, to proclaim the empress in the capital.

You cannot fail, sir, of being tired of this long incoherent letter; but in the hurry of the times, all I can do is to throw together as many particulars as come to my knowledge, and I trust to your indulgence for my pardon. In the mean time, having received no orders from you since your letter of the 8th June, I shall conclude this, with assuring you I am with great respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

ROBERT KEITH.

P. S. Baron Goltz was not at court for want of clothes, it having been insinuated in the message from the master of the ceremonies, that it was expected he



would come to court in other clothes than regimentals, but having none of that kind ready, he cannot be presented till next court-day.

Baron Lutzon, the Mechlenburg minister, was at court amongst the rest, he left a card at my door last night. Both Mulgonow and Wolkow are in arrest.

## No. 2.

## LIST of the RUSSIAN NAVY in October 1778.

## SHIPS of the Line.

| Names.                        | Guns. | Station.      | When built. |
|-------------------------------|-------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. <b>EZEKIEL</b> - - -       | 80 —  | Cronstadt     | - 1773      |
| 2. Isidor - - -               | 74 —  | Ditto         | - 1772      |
| 3. St. Andrew - - -           | 74 —  | Ditto         | - 1770      |
| 4. Clement - - -              | 74 —  | Ditto         | - 1770      |
| 5. Tchefmè - - -              | 74 —  | Ditto         | - 1770      |
| 6. Vladimir - - -             | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1771      |
| 7. Vekeflaf - - -             | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1771      |
| 8. De Neifs - - -             | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1772      |
| 9. America - - -              | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1773      |
| 10. Perislaſ - - -            | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1772      |
| 11. Vsevolod - - -            | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1769      |
| 12. Demitri Donski - - -      | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1771      |
| 13. Pam and Euſtatia - - -    | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1770      |
| 14. Viſtor - - -              | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1771      |
| 15. Europa - - -              | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1768      |
| 16. Saratof - - -             | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1765      |
| 17. Pobeda - - -              | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1770      |
| 18. Ratiſlof - - -            | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1769      |
| 19. Miranofitz - - -          | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1771      |
| 20. Pobidnaſovitz, rebuilding | 66 —  | At Cronſtadt. |             |
| 21. Count Orlof - - -         | 66 —  | Revel         | - 1770      |
| 22. Alexander - - -           | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1772      |
| 23. Boris and Glebb - - -     | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1773      |
| 24. Ingermanland - - -        | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1773      |
| 25. Aſia - - -                | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1773      |
| 26. Unknown - - -             | 66 —  | Cronſtadt     | - 1777      |
| 27. Ditto - - -               | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1777      |
| 28. Ditto - - -               | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1777      |
| 29. Ditto - - -               | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1777      |
| 30. Ditto - - -               | 66 —  | Ditto         | - 1777      |



## SHIPS of the Line ready to launch, and building.

|     |                 |   |   | Guns. | Station.     |
|-----|-----------------|---|---|-------|--------------|
| 31. | Ready to launch | - | - | 74    | — Peterburgh |
| 32. | Ditto           | - | - | 74    | — Ditto      |
| 33. | Building        | - | - | 74    | — Ditto      |
| 34. | Ready to launch | - | - | 66    | — Ditto      |
| 35. | Building        | - | - | 66    | — Ditto      |
| 36. | Ditto           | - | - | 66    | — Ditto      |
| 37. | Ditto           | - | - | 66    | — Ditto      |
| 38. | Ditto           | - | - | 66    | — Ditto      |

## FRIGATES.

|    | Names.      |   |   | Guns. | Station.    | When built. |
|----|-------------|---|---|-------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. | St. Michael | - | - | 32    | — Cronstadt | - 1774      |
| 2. | Kaslevoi    | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1774      |
| 3. | Leeskoi     | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1773      |
| 4. | Pospeskoi   | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1774      |
| 5. | Bohemia     | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1774      |
| 6. | Hungaria    | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1774      |
| 7. | Nordefskoi  | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1769      |
| 8. | Eustatia    | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1768      |
| 9. | Pomofsknoi  | - | - | 32    | — Ditto     | - 1768      |

## FRIGATES ready to launch, and building.

|     |                 |   |   |    |               |
|-----|-----------------|---|---|----|---------------|
| 10. | Ready to launch | - | - | 28 | — Petersburgh |
| 11. | St. Mark        | - | - | 20 | — Ditto       |
| 12. | Ready to launch | - | - | 20 | — Ditto       |
| 13. | Building        | - | - | 20 | — Archangel   |
| 14. | Building        | - | - | 20 | — Ditto       |
| 15. | Building        | - | - | 20 | — Ditto       |

Prames: 1. Elephant, 36 guns; 2. unknown, 36; 3. Leopold, 18; 4. Barfa, 18.

Gallies: 101 at Petersburgh; 3 at Cronstadt; and 5 at Revel.

## No. 3.

## GOODS exported in 382 British ships, in 1777.

| Quantity. |         |                  |       | Value.  |    |
|-----------|---------|------------------|-------|---------|----|
|           |         |                  |       | £.      | s. |
| 1,283,279 | Poods * | of Iron          | - - - | 365,324 | 12 |
| 1,104,299 | -       | Clean hemp       | - - - | 353,375 | 12 |
| 92,950    | -       | Outshot ditto    | - - - | 27,885  | 0  |
| 32,735    | -       | Half clean ditto | - - - | 9,165   | 16 |
| 84,008    | -       | Codilla ditto    | - - - | 13,441  | 1  |
| 209,902   | -       | 12 head flax     | - - - | 100,753 | 0  |
| 25,470    | -       | 9 head flax      | - - - | 10,697  | 8  |
| 4,396     | -       | 6 head flax      | - - - | 1,582   | 8  |
| 36,627    | -       | Codilla ditto    | - - - | 4,395   | 4  |
| 1,373     | -       | Ifinglass        | - - - | 8,238   | 0  |
| 13,514    | -       | Bristles         | - - - | 24,325  | 4  |
| 8,774     | -       | Hides            | - - - | 10,528  | 16 |
| 2,546     | -       | Wax              | - - - | 6,110   | 8  |
| 271,273   | -       | Tallow           | - - - | 119,360 | 0  |
| 21,525    | -       | Old iron         | - - - | 1,722   | 0  |
| 1,157     | -       | Feathers         | - - - | 925     | 12 |
| 70,838    | -       | Tar †            | - - - | 7,083   | 16 |
| 2,683     | -       | Pitch            | - - - | 402     | 8  |
| 1,473     | -       | Rosin            | - - - | 441     | 16 |
| 2,987     | -       | Cordage          | - - - | 1,194   | 16 |
| 359       | -       | Horsehair        | - - - | 143     | 12 |

\* A pood = 36 English pounds.

† Before our unhappy disputes with our Colonies, we used to procure our pitch and tar from America. In 1776 we first imported these commodities from Russia. They were sold at first for only 1s. the pood; but in 1777, tar sold for 2s. and pitch at 3s. the pood.



| Quantity. |                              |   |   | Value. |    |
|-----------|------------------------------|---|---|--------|----|
|           |                              |   |   | £.     | s. |
| 42        | 32lb                         | Rhubarb   | - | 846    | 8  |
| 3         | 3lb                          | Beaver cod  | - | 590    | 8  |
| 152,854   | Arshines *                   | Broad diaper  | - | 3,362  | 5  |
| 337,683   | -                            | Narrow ditto  | - | 5,402  | 16 |
| 82,155    | -                            | Broad linen   | - | 1,838  | 4  |
| 1,602,716 | -                            | Narrow ditto  | - | 22,438 | 0  |
| 1,168,440 | -                            | Crash   | - | 5,842  | 4  |
| 847,290   | -                            | Drillings   | - | 23,724 | 0  |
| 23,429    | Pieces of                    | Fleems  | - | 37,598 | 8  |
| 56,644    | -                            | Ravenducks  | - | 67,972 | 16 |
| 1,505     | -                            | Sail-cloth  | - | 2,107  | 0  |
| 3,500     | -                            | White fox-skins                                     | - | 1,400  | 0  |
| 5,000     | -                            | Hare-skins  | - | 200    | 0  |
| 18,454    | Tchetwert †                  | Linseed   | - | 11,072 | 8  |
| 17,986    | -                            | Wheat   | - | 14,388 | 16 |
| 157,083   | Deals are about 80,000 dozen |   | - | 24,000 | 0  |
| 155       | Poods of                     | Potash  | - | 77     | 8  |
| 499       | -                            | Carraway seeds                                      | - | 149    | 12 |
| 226       | -                            | Anniseed  | - | 90     | 8  |
| 37,817    | -                            | Old rags, old ropes, goats skins,<br>and oxen bones | - | 312    | 0  |
| 2         | 22 lb.                       | Raw filk  | - | 57     | 12 |
| 52        | -                            | Linseed oil   | - | 15     | 12 |
| 10,424    | -                            | Horse-tails, about 200 pood                         | - | 200    | 0  |
| 78        | -                            | Masts and bowsprits, and wax-<br>candles            | - | 1,044  | 0  |
| 205       | Poods of                     | Fox-skin bags and weasel-skin<br>bags               | - | 832    | 0  |
| 312       | -                            | Hare-skin bags and skins of<br>squirrels            | - | 15     | 12 |
| 20        | -                            | Ermine skins  | - | 60     | 0  |
| 14,370    | -                            | Ermine tails, and fable tails,<br>and mats          | - | 214    | 0  |

\* An arshine = 28 inches.

† A tchetwert contains  $5\frac{3}{4}$  bushels Winchester measure.

\*

Quantity.

|                                       |                        | Value.       |    |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|----|
| Quantity.                             |                        | £.           | s. |
| 57                                    | Poods of Caviar        | -            | -  |
| 1,413                                 | Arshines Checked linen | -            | -  |
|                                       |                        | <hr/>        |    |
|                                       |                        | £. 1,293,010 | 14 |
| Customs on exportation                | -                      | £. 107,176   | 0  |
| Shipping charges 5 per cent.          | -                      | 64,650       | 12 |
|                                       |                        | } 171,826 12 |    |
|                                       |                        | <hr/>        |    |
|                                       |                        | 1,464,837    | 6  |
| Commission 3 per cent.                | -                      | -            | -  |
|                                       |                        | 43,945       | 0  |
|                                       |                        | <hr/>        |    |
| Total sum of exports by British ships |                        | £. 1,508,782 | 6  |

GOODS imported by British ships at Petersburg, in  
1777.

| Quantity. |                              | Value.    |    |
|-----------|------------------------------|-----------|----|
|           |                              | £.        | s. |
| 2,154     | Poods of Alum                | 775       | 8  |
| 214       | - Benzoin                    | 2,565     | 0  |
| 3,080     | - Brimstone                  | 985       | 12 |
| 11,482    | - Campeachy wood             | 4,592     | 16 |
| 579       | - Cheese                     | 706       | 4  |
| 126       | - Cochineal                  | 5,040     | 0  |
| 1,288     | - Coffee                     | 2,060     | 16 |
| 15        | - Confectionary              | 61        | 16 |
|           | Copper wrought and unwrought | 120       | 8  |
| 978       | - Cork                       | 660       | 0  |
| 6         | - Coral                      | 500       | 0  |
| 108       | - Gum arabic                 | 129       | 16 |
| 1,560     | - Indigo                     | 24,961    | 4  |
| 58,804    | - Lead                       | 21,169    | 8  |
| 568       | - Mustard                    | 1,362     | 12 |
| 524       | - Oil                        | 623       | 16 |
| 46        | - Olibanum                   | 92        | 0  |
| 1,420     | - Pepper                     | 3,418     | 16 |
| 37        | - Pewter                     | 96        | 12 |
|           |                              | Quantity. |    |



| Quantity.                                    | Value. |    |
|--|--------|----|
|  | £.     | s. |
| 22½ Poods of Plates of gold and silver -     | 7,507  | 0  |
| 608 - Rice - - -                             | 243    | 12 |
| 54 - Sugar refined - }                       | 896    | 8  |
| 683 - Ditto raw - }                          |        |    |
| 409 - Sal ammoniac - -                       | 1,636  | 4  |
| 15,874 - Tin - - -                           | 25,398 | 8  |
| 60 - Tobacco and snuff -                     | 182    | 8  |
| 98 - Verdigrease - -                         | 393    | 12 |
| 206,816 Arshines Bays - - -                  | 20,956 | 12 |
| 100,494 - Calimancoes and camblets -         | 7,034  | 12 |
| 32,412 - Camblets - - -                      | 6,880  | 8  |
| 164,205 - Cottons for printing -             | 7,225  | 0  |
| 7,132 - Cloth fine - }                       | 55,642 | 12 |
| 162,007 - ordinary - }                       |        |    |
| 144,125 - Cottons, velvets, velverets, &c. - | 17,364 | 0  |
| 45,995 - Druggets - - -                      | 3,219  | 12 |
| 9828 - Flannels - - -                        | 589    | 12 |
| 16,225 - Phlug and shag - -                  | 1,986  | 0  |
| 365,896 - Shalloons - - -                    | 24,881 | 12 |
| 137,895 - Tabouretts - - -                   | 9,652  | 16 |
| Clothes ready made - -                       | 344    | 4  |
| Hats - - -                                   | 215    | 8  |
| Linen and printed handkerchiefs -            | 342    | 16 |
| Muslin and cambric - -                       | 1,108  | 0  |
| Quilting - - -                               | 2,853  | 0  |
| Ribbands - - -                               | 133    | 0  |
| Stockings - - -                              | 1,787  | 0  |
| Sundry silk stuffs - -                       | 1,333  | 0  |
| Sundry woollen ditto - -                     | 2,131  | 0  |
| Toys and millinery - -                       | 9,490  | 8  |
| Butter - - -                                 | 16     | 12 |
| Capers - - -                                 | 1      | 8  |
| Coals - - -                                  | 2,033  | 12 |
| Chestnuts - - -                              | 68     | 0  |
| Chrystal - - -                               | 190    | 4  |
| Currants, raisins, and figs -                | 384    | 8  |
| Cutlery                                      |        |    |

|                  |                                  | Value.    |    |
|------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|----|
|                  |                                  | £.        | s. |
|                  | Cutlery and hardware -           | 19,181    | 16 |
|                  | Diamonds and precious stones     | 5,596     | 0  |
|                  | Earthen ware -                   | 5,890     | 12 |
|                  | Fans -                           | 20        | 16 |
|                  | Frames for pictures -            | 82        | 16 |
|                  | Furniture -                      | 312       | 4  |
|                  | Furs -                           | 40        | 0  |
|                  | Hops -                           | 24        | 0  |
|                  | Lace and ruffles -               | 452       | 12 |
|                  | Leather dressed and undressed    | 519       | 4  |
|                  | Mathematical instruments -       | 1,458     | 0  |
|                  | Musical instruments -            | 451       | 16 |
|                  | Mohair -                         | 45        | 16 |
|                  | Nuts -                           | 45        | 8  |
|                  | Olives -                         | 1         | 0  |
|                  | Paper hangings -                 | 258       | 8  |
|                  | Pearls -                         | 1,000     | 0  |
|                  | Pencils and black lead -         | 674       | 0  |
|                  | Pictures and copper-plates -     | 3,605     | 8  |
|                  | Pickles -                        | 37        | 12 |
|                  | Pork and hams -                  | 57        | 8  |
|                  | Printed books -                  | 607       | 0  |
|                  | Prunes -                         | 94        | 0  |
|                  | Stoughton's drops -              | 13        | 4  |
|                  | Stone and marble -               | 822       | 0  |
|                  | Snuff-boxes -                    | 241       | 12 |
|                  | Tea -                            | 35        | 0  |
|                  | Tutinage -                       | 141       | 0  |
|                  | Whips and walking sticks -       | 108       | 16 |
|                  | Wine and mineral water -         | 434       | 0  |
| Quantity.        | Wood for coaches, furniture, &c. | 2,070     | 0  |
| 131              | Horses -                         | 2,920     | 0  |
| 38               | Dogs -                           | 132       | 12 |
| 27,316 Pieces of | Beaver skins -                   | 27,316    | 0  |
| 239,967          | Bottles -                        | 2,380     | 8  |
| 3,282 Hogsheads  | Burton ale -                     | 26,255    | 0  |
|                  |                                  | Quantity, |    |



| Quantity. |                              |   | Value.    |    |
|-----------|------------------------------|---|-----------|----|
|           |                              |   | £.        | s. |
| 61        | Coaches and harness          | - | 2,084     | 4  |
|           | Clocks and watches           | - | 11,142    | 16 |
| 193 Dozen | Cyder                        | - | 154       | 16 |
| 195       | Anchors of French brandy     | - | 781       | 16 |
| 3,556     | Chests of Oranges and lemons | - | 5,817     | 12 |
| 10,703    | - Otter skins                | - | 14,844    | 4  |
| 116       | Reams of Paper               | - | 45        | 4  |
| 13        | Anchors of Shrub and rum     | - | 98        | 8  |
| 61        | Hogsheads of Vinegar         | - | 147       | 16 |
|           | Sundry drugs and colours     | - | 865       | 0  |
|           | Sundry small articles        | - | 590       | 16 |
|           |                              |   | <hr/>     |    |
|           |                              |   | £.423,942 | 12 |
|           |                              |   | <hr/>     |    |

## No. 4.

## STATE of the RUSSIAN ARMY, 1785.

- 1 Regiment horse guards.
- 3 Ditto foot guards.
  - Preobrazhinsky.
  - Ismailofsky.
  - Semenofsky.

This corps is called 10,000 men, but does not exceed 3,000, and probably never will.

## 1st. Division.—St. PETERSBURGH and PLESCOF.

|   |                      |                                |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Field Marshal.       |                                |
| 1 | General in Chief.    |                                |
| 4 | Lieutenant Generals. |                                |
| 7 | Major Generals.      |                                |
|   |                      | Number of men<br>and officers. |
| 1 | Regiment carabiners. |                                |
|   | Plescof - - -        | 942                            |
| 1 | Ditto, dragoons.     |                                |
|   | St. Petersburg - -   | 1,872                          |
|   |                      | <hr/>                          |
|   | Total cavalry - -    | 2,814                          |
|   |                      | <hr/>                          |

INFANTRY.



## INFANTRY.

|    |                        |   |   |   | Number of men<br>officers included. |
|----|------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 2  | Regiments, grenadiers. |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Life grenadiers        | - | - | - | 4,188                               |
|    | Sophiinsk              | - | - | - | 4,188                               |
|    |                        |   |   |   | <hr/> 8,376                         |
| 14 | Field regiments.       |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Revel                  | - | - | - | 2,094                               |
|    | Beloverskoy.           |   |   |   | 14                                  |
|    | Plesverskoy.           |   |   |   | <hr/> 29,316                        |
|    | Koporskoy.             |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Archangel.             |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Navaginsk.             |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Refan.                 |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Velikolutsky.          |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Tinguinsk.             |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Narva.                 |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Kexholm.               |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Nevfsky.               |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Staroskol'sk.          |   |   |   |                                     |
|    | Negomsk.               |   |   |   |                                     |
|    |                        |   |   |   | <hr/>                               |
|    | Total 1st division     | - | - | - | <hr/> 40,506 <hr/>                  |

## 2d Division.—UKRAINE.

- 1 Field Marshal.
- 1 General in Chief.
- 3 Lieutenant Generals.
- 5 Major Generals.

1 Regiment,

|                            |                | Number of men,<br>officers included. |
|----------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 Regiment, cuirassiers.   |                |                                      |
| St. George                 | - - - - -      | 742                                  |
| 10 Regiments, carabinieri. |                |                                      |
| Kiof                       | - - - - -      | 942                                  |
| Tchernigof.                |                | 10                                   |
| Seversk.                   |                | <hr/> 9,420                          |
| Glukof.                    |                |                                      |
| Sophiisk                   |                |                                      |
| Lubenskoy.                 |                |                                      |
| Tver.                      |                |                                      |
| Neyinsk.                   |                |                                      |
| Staradubsk.                |                |                                      |
| Perejailoff.               |                |                                      |
| 6 Regiments, light horse.  |                |                                      |
| Achtiursk                  | - - - - -      | 1,083                                |
| Kaskoff.                   |                | 6                                    |
| Sumsk.                     |                | <hr/> 6,498                          |
| Ostrogjsk.                 |                |                                      |
| Duteronisk.                |                |                                      |
| Sonisk.                    |                | <hr/>                                |
| Total cavalry              | - - - - -      | 16,660                               |
| 7 Regiments, infantry.     |                |                                      |
| Tomsk                      | - - - - -      | 2,094                                |
| Sief.                      |                | 7                                    |
| Briansk.                   |                | <hr/>                                |
| Elitz.                     | Total infantry | - - 14,658                           |
| Riga.                      |                |                                      |
| Suzdolsky.                 |                |                                      |
| Polotskoy.                 |                | <hr/>                                |
| Total 2d division          | - - - - -      | <hr/> 31,318 <hr/>                   |

3d Division.---



## 3d Division.—MOSCOW.

|                  |   |   |            |   |              | Number of men,<br>officers included. |
|------------------|---|---|------------|---|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1                | General in Chief.                       |   |            |   |              |                                      |
| 2                | Lieutenant Generals.                    |   |            |   |              |                                      |
| 4                | Major Generals.                         |   |            |   |              |                                      |
| 2                | Regiments, carabiniers.                 |   |            |   |              |                                      |
|                  | Moscow                                  | - | -          | - | -            | 942                                  |
|                  | Rostof                                  | - | -          | - | -            | 942                                  |
|                  |   |   |            |   |              | <hr/> 1,884                          |
| 1                | Regiment, cuirassiers.                  |   |            |   |              |                                      |
|                  | Cazan                                   | - | -          | - | -            | 742                                  |
|                  |   |   |            |   |              | <hr/> 2,626                          |
| Total of cavalry |   |   |            |   |              |                                      |
| 7                | Regiments, infantry.                    |   |            |   |              |                                      |
|                  | St. Peterburgh                          | } | Grenadiers |   | {            | 4,188                                |
|                  | Moscow                                  |   |            |   |              | 4,188                                |
|                  |   |   |            |   |              | <hr/> 8,376                          |
|                  | Pennikoy                                | - | -          | - | 2,094        |                                      |
|                  | Yaroslaf.                               |   |            |   | 5            |                                      |
|                  |   |   |            |   | <hr/> 10,470 |                                      |
|                  | Alinopolk.                              |   |            |   |              |                                      |
|                  | Toola.                                  |   |            |   |              |                                      |
|                  | Cafan.                                  |   |            |   |              |                                      |
|                  | Total infantry                          |   |            |   |              | 18,846                               |
|                  | Total infantry and cavalry, 3d division |   |            |   |              | <hr/> 21,472                         |

## 4th Division.—EKATERINOSLAF and CRIMEA.

1 Field Marshal.  
 1 General in Chief.  
 5 Lieutenant Generals.  
 11 Major Generals.

1 Regiment,

|                           | Number of men,<br>officers included. |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 Regiment, cuirassiers.  |                                      |
| Ekaterinofslaf - - - -    | 742                                  |
| 1 Regiment, carabiniers.  |                                      |
| Refan - - - - -           | 942                                  |
|                           | <hr/> 1,684                          |
| 9 Regiments, light horse: |                                      |
| Paulogratz - - - - -      | 1,083                                |
| Marinpol'sk.              | 9                                    |
| Alexandrii'sk.            | <hr/> 9,747                          |
| Olivinpol'sk.             |                                      |
| Kherfon.                  |                                      |
| Constantinogratz.         |                                      |
| Tamigin'sk.               |                                      |
| Pultava.                  |                                      |
| Il'iam'sk.                | <hr/>                                |
| Total cavalry - - -       | 11,431                               |

I N F A N T R Y.

|                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11 Regiments.          |                          |
| Ekaterinofslaf - - - - | 4,188                    |
| Tauritza - - - -       | 4                        |
| Phanagori'sk - - - -   | } grenadiers.            |
| Kiof - - - - -         |                          |
| Orlof - - - - -        |                          |
| Koslof.                | 7                        |
| Vial'skoy.             | <hr/>                    |
| Kur'sk.                | 14,658                   |
| Tambof.                | <hr/>                    |
| Taurichetz.            | Total infantry - - -     |
| Troitzk.               | 31,410                   |
|                        | <hr/>                    |
|                        | Total 4th division - - - |
|                        | 42,841                   |
|                        | <hr/>                    |

CORPS cantoned from Astracan to Tiflis, making part of the 4th division, commanded by

1 Lieutenant General.

5 Major Generals.

2 Regiments.



|   |                      |       |   | Number of men,<br>officers included. |
|---|----------------------|-------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 2 | Regiments, dragoons. |       |   |                                      |
|   | Astracan             | -     | - | 1,872                                |
|   | Taganrock            | -     | - | 1,872                                |
|   |                      |       |   | <hr/> 3,744                          |
| 9 | Regiments, infantry. |       |   |                                      |
|   | Astracan, grenadiers | -     | - | 4,188                                |
|   | Kunitzk              | -     | - | 2,094                                |
|   | Kabardinia.          |       |   | 8                                    |
|   | Moscow.              |       |   | <hr/> 16,752                         |
|   | Selenginskoy.        |       |   |                                      |
|   | Nizof.               |       |   |                                      |
|   | Nishnei-novogorod.   |       |   | <hr/>                                |
|   | Butuirskoy.          | Total | - | 24,684                               |
|   | Voronetz.            |       |   | <hr/>                                |

#### 5th Division.—NOVOGOROD.

|   |                        |   |   |              |
|---|------------------------|---|---|--------------|
| 1 | General in Chief.      |   |   |              |
| 1 | Lieutenant General.    |   |   |              |
| 2 | Major Generals.        |   |   |              |
| 1 | Regiment, cuirassiers. |   |   |              |
|   | Great Duke's           | - | - | 742          |
| 1 | Regiment carabiners.   |   |   |              |
|   | Kargopol'sk            | - | - | 942          |
|   |                        |   |   | <hr/> 1,684  |
| 4 | Regiments, infantry.   |   |   |              |
|   | Novogorod              | - | - | 2,094        |
|   | Siburg.                |   |   | 4            |
|   | Schlusselfburgh.       |   |   | <hr/> 8,376  |
|   | Tobol'sk.              |   |   | <hr/>        |
|   | Total 5th division     | - | - | <hr/> 10,060 |

#### 6th Division.—VLODIMIR and VORONETZ.

- 1 General in Chief.
- 1 Lieutenant General.
- 4 Major Generals.

2 Regiments,

|   |                         |   |       | Number of men,<br>officers included. |
|---|-------------------------|---|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 2 | Regiments, carabiniers. |   |       |                                      |
|   | Jugermanland            | - | -     | 942                                  |
|   | Narva                   | - | -     | 942                                  |
| 2 | Regiments, dragoons.    |   |       |                                      |
|   | Nishnie-novogorod       | - | -     | 1,872                                |
|   | Volodimir               | - | -     | 1,872                                |
| 4 | Regiments, infantry:    |   |       |                                      |
|   | Shirvan                 | - | -     | 2,094                                |
|   | Rostof.                 |   | 4     |                                      |
|   | Apekeronfkoy:           |   | ----- | 8,376                                |
|   | Azof.                   |   | ----- |                                      |
|   | Total 6th division      |   | -     | <u>14,004</u>                        |

7th Division.—SMOLENSKO.

|   |                            |                     |         |               |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------------|
|   | 1                          | General in Chief.   |         |               |
|   | 1                          | Lieutenant General. |         |               |
|   | 3                          | Major Generals.     |         |               |
| 1 | Regiment, life curiaffiers | -                   | -       | 742           |
| 2 | Regiments, carabiners.     |                     |         |               |
|   | Jamburgh                   | -                   | } 942 = | 1,884         |
|   | Riga                       | -                   |         |               |
| 4 | Regiments, infantry.       |                     |         |               |
|   | Siberia, grenadiers        | -                   | -       | 4,188         |
|   | Smolensko                  | -                   | -       | 2,094         |
|   | Uglitz.                    |                     | 3       |               |
|   | Ingermanland               |                     | -----   | 6,282         |
|   | Total 7th division         |                     | -       | <u>13,096</u> |

8th Division.—TAMBAF.

- 1 General in Chief.
- 1 Lieutenant General.
- 2 Major Generals.



|                          |                |   |   | Number of men<br>officers included. |
|--------------------------|----------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 Regiment, light horse. | Elizabethgratz | - | - | 1,083                               |
| 4 Regiments, infantry.   | Troitzk        | - | - | 2,094                               |
|                          | Ledago.        |   | 4 |                                     |
|                          | Volodimir.     |   |   | 8,376                               |
|                          | Maromsk.       |   |   |                                     |
|                          | Total          | - | - | 9,459                               |

### 9th Division.---WHITE RUSSIA.

|                        |              |   |       |         |
|------------------------|--------------|---|-------|---------|
| 1 General in Chief.    |              |   |       |         |
| 1 Lieutenant General.  |              |   |       |         |
| 1 Major General.       |              |   |       |         |
| 2 Regiments, dragoons. | Smolensko    | - | -     |         |
|                        | Kinburn      | - | -     |         |
|                        |              |   | 1,872 | = 3,744 |
| 4 Regiments, infantry. | Dnuperopskoy | - | -     |         |
|                        | Polotskoy    | - | -     |         |
|                        | Tfchernigoff | - | -     |         |
|                        | Vologolskoy  | - | -     |         |
|                        |              |   | 2,094 | = 8,376 |
|                        | Total        | - | -     | 12,120  |

### 10th Division.--ORENBURG.

|                           |               |   |       |         |
|---------------------------|---------------|---|-------|---------|
| 1 Lieutenant General.     |               |   |       |         |
| 2 Major Generals.         |               |   |       |         |
| 3 Regiments, light horse. | Voronetz      | - | -     |         |
|                           | Pfiumsk       | - | -     |         |
|                           | Ukraine       | - | -     |         |
|                           |               |   | 1,083 | = 3,249 |
| 2 Battalions, infantry.   | Orenburg      | - | -     |         |
|                           | Tfchernogratz | - | -     |         |
|                           |               |   | 1,046 | = 2,092 |
|                           | Total         | - | -     | 5,341   |

CORPS

## CORPS of SIBERIA.

|                         |   |   |       |                                      |              |
|-------------------------|---|---|-------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 Lieutenant General.   |   |   |       |                                      |              |
| 2 Major Generals.       |   |   |       |                                      |              |
| 1 Regiment dragoons.    |   |   |       | Number of men,<br>officers included. |              |
| Siberia                 | - | - | -     | -                                    | 1,872        |
| 2 Battalions, infantry. |   |   |       |                                      |              |
| Ekaterinenburg          | - | } | 1,046 | =                                    | 2,092        |
| Semiupolsk              | - |   |       |                                      |              |
| Total                   |   | - | -     | -                                    | <u>3,964</u> |

## LIGHT TROOPS.

|  |   |   |        |         |              |
|--|---|---|--------|---------|--------------|
| 12 Regiments, regular Cossacs, of 942 men  | - |   |        |         | 11,304       |
| irregular ditto, divided into regiments<br>of 500 each from the Don and the<br>Yaic or Ural (since Pugatchef's revolt)<br>called Uralian Cossacks—Number not<br>to be ascertained. |   |   |        |         |              |
| Kalmucks—The same.   |   |   |        |         |              |
| 2 Battalions, grenadiers.  |   |   |        |         |              |
| Kharcofs   | - | - | 1<br>1 | } 1,047 | = 2,094      |
|  |   |   |        |         |              |
| 8 Battalions, Fusileers.   |   |   |        |         |              |
| Moscow   | - | - | 4      | } 1,026 | = 8,208      |
| Kharkoff   | - | - | 4      |         |              |
| 24 Battalions, Chasseurs.  |   |   |        |         |              |
| Tauritchitz  | - | - | 4      | } 990   | = 23,760     |
| Caucasus   | - | - | 4      |         |              |
| Livonia  | - | - | 4      |         |              |
| Bog  | - | - | 4      |         |              |
| Belorufky  | - | - | 4      |         |              |
| Finland  | - | - | 4      |         |              |
|  |   |   |        |         | <hr/> 45,366 |

RECAP.



## RECAPITULATION.

|                              |   |   | Cavalry. | Infantry. | Artillery. |
|------------------------------|---|---|----------|-----------|------------|
| 1st Division                 | - | - | 2,814    | —         | 29,316     |
| 2                            | - | - | 16,660   | —         | 14,658     |
| 3                            | - | - | 2,626    | —         | 18,846     |
| 4                            | - | - | 11,431   | —         | 31,410     |
| Lieut. Gen. Potemkin's corps |   |   | 3,744    | —         | 20,940     |
| 5                            | - | - | 1,684    | —         | 8,376      |
| 6                            | - | - | 5,628    | —         | 8,376      |
| 7                            | - | - | 2,626    | —         | 10,470     |
| 8                            | - | - | 1,083    | —         | 8,376      |
| 9                            | - | - | 3,744    | —         | 12,120     |
| 10                           | - | - | 3,249    | —         | 2,092      |
| Corps of Siberia             | - | - | 1,872    | —         | 2,092      |
| Light troops, regular        | - |   | 11,034   | —         | 34,062     |
| Irregular                    | - | - | —        | —         | —          |
| Artillery                    | - | - | —        | —         | 34,000     |
|                              |   |   | 68,465   | 235,134   |            |

To this may be added, 98 garrison battalions of different establishments, consisting of recruits and invalids, mixed, which do the duty of the places, no field regiment, excepting four for the garrison of Petersburg, and two for that of Riga, being employed in that line. The Artillery has eleven garrison battalions for the same purpose.

END OF VOL. III.

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